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Saturday,
13th December, 1952

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

OFFICIAL REPORT

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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

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HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Saturday 13th December, 1952

The House met at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

No Questions: Part I not published

ELECTION TO COMMITTEE

CENTRAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL CADET CORPS

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have to inform the House that upto the time fixed for receiving nominations for the Central Advisory Committee of the National Cadet Corps, five nominations were received. Subsequently three Members withdrew their candidature. As the number of the remaining candidates was thus equal to the number of vacancies in this Committee, I declare the following Members to be duly elected:

1. Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma.
2. Shri Joachim Alva.

MOTION RE. REPORT OF COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju): I beg to move:

> "That the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the period ending 31st December, 1951, be taken into consideration."

I am very glad indeed that this report is going to be discussed this morning at length and I look forward to the receiving of many helpful suggestions which I have no doubt will be calculated to promote social welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, an object which has been very dear to all of us ever since the Father of the Nation devoted his attention to it.

Before I make a few observations, which I propose to do in the beginning, I am sure that the House will share with me the very keen and deep appreciation of the labours of the Special Officer appointed by the President under article 338 of the Constitution, as they are indicated by this report. He has worked hard, he has travelled extensively, and as many Members would be aware this is not his first essay in this particular field of activity. He has devoted very many years of his life towards the cause of Harijans and I was happy indeed some time ago to visit at Dohad, on the borders of Gujerat, an institution which Shri Srikant has founded and worked in for very many years.

We are now practically at the end of the year 1952 and I hope that the report which the Special Officer will submit after the conclusion of this year within a few months will also be found helpful to the Members of the House. The amendments indicate the various points which will come up for discussion. All of us here, particularly on this side of the house, have worked in this field and we have got our own notions. We know the details, we know the hardships under which our people, whom Gandhiji has called 'Harijans' live. For thirty years Gandhji tried very hard to ameliorate them. Then come the tribal people living far away in the hills and forests and their conditions are not as familiar to us as the conditions of our brethren the Harijans. I am sure the House will welcome a very full description of the conditions under which the tribal people live, work and suffer from. They are a little different. While the Scheduled Castes and other backward classes live in our villages, share the daily

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toil and trouble in our fields and in our factories, the tribal people live far away in remote forests and hills and, what is much more important, their outlook on life is somewhat different. What I find most, when I go among them, is that in spite of the primitive conditions under which they live, they had managed to preserve their independence—full independence—while we had succumbed to foreign influence.

I was in the Lushai Hills last week and I learnt that the people of the Lushai Hills had been completely independent, had been living under their own chiefs right up to the year 1890 or thereabouts; they acknowledged no foreign masters. In one way theirs was a life of complete self-sufficiency. They lived in their own homes; they were self-sufficient in food, in cloth and in shelter. They live in an area of 8,000 square miles: population two lakhs—24 to a square mile. The conditions there are very difficult, but there they live and inasmuch as the Special Officer has dealt with their difficulties in his report I should like to tell the House very briefly in a few minutes what the conditions of these tribal people are in those areas. What impressed me most is that there are no communications, no post offices, no facilities like telegraphs with which we are familiar. But they really live a self-contained life, independent and hardy.

In Lushai Hills particularly you might be rather surprised to hear that literacy is really the highest in India. I was told that they were just below Travancore—40 per cent. Missionaries had gone there and had established schools. The conditions were very difficult. The British people would not allow any Indian to go into the hills. It was treated as if it was a war zone and the only persons allowed were missionaries and they have done well. They have provided medical facilities and primary education and have made them stand on their own feet. Many of the Lushai boys are now studying in Colleges in Gauhati, and Shillong. Some of them are in Calcutta and some in Silchar and as I told them there, I look forward to the opportunity and to the day when they would serve not only their own people in the hills, but they would become, as they have now become, part and parcel of India, and give us the co-operation in a wider sphere and serve the country in a wider sphere.

We always dwell upon the want of communications there. The problem is a very difficult one. Everybody looks to a return upon the money invested. I am not saying return in the shape of dividends but in the shape of human welfare. If you build a road you want to have it to promote the interests of as large a number of people as possible. Now, just consider, 8,000 square miles and two lakhs of population. In many areas in India the pressure is about 1,000 persons to a square mile. And here is twenty-four. Communications cost money and serve very few people. From Silchar to the district headquarters, Aijal, is a distance of 113 miles, out of which 92 miles is the hill section. There were no roads from Silchar to Aijal right up to the Second World War, and it took eight days' march to travel from Aijal to Silchar. But there was the Japanese menace, and the British Government thought in war time that they must build a road. And the road was built. How much did it cost? The road consisted of widening of the bridle-path or foot-path, and it was made into a very rough truck road over which jeeps and motor trucks could pass. It cost Rs. four crores of money for those 92 miles. On that basis, if you were to provide for roads in the hill areas of Bengal and Assam, just calculate the cost.

And from Aijal to another sub-divisional headquarters, Lungleh is a distance of 128 miles. It is 15 days' march. The cost of transporting one maund of goods, say salt which is an essential necessity, is Rs. 45. What was to be done? There is air-lift, and today goods are dropped there from air.

I should like to mention one thing which made a tremendous impression upon me and really made me proud of those people. I wish that that fact should be made well known and should be widely advertised and widely followed. We talk of community projects. I saw a Community project in action. It began on our auspicious day, 26th January, 1950, the great Republic Day. And these people living from Aijal to Lungleh resolved that they would build a road of their own—128 miles, not soft plains, but cutting into the live rock, hilly section. My hon. friends who come from the hills know what a hill road means. And they wanted to make it a jeepable road. And they

have done 90 miles starting from Aijal, on both sides, that is from Aijal side and Lungleh side; and in three years' time, without making a hullabaloo about it; I did not know it myself. They have been going on quietly. Large numbers, thousands, have made small Road Committees for various sections, and the road is functioning for 90 miles. There is a gap of 38 miles in-between. Two bridges have to be made, *pucca* bridges. Otherwise they have made a sort of a bridge for fair weather, and it costs nothing. So far the Assam Government have paid Rs. 15,000, and technical advice has been given by the Public Works Department of Assam, and very laudable assistance given by the Assam Rifles. Otherwise, it is the people's own work. Those who were living in distant villages said 'We cannot come and labour, we will send you a little money' and that was spent by the Road Committees in giving rewards.

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That is the way, which shows how self-reliant those people are, how independent and how willing to work for community welfare. That is a most important feature of these tribal people, a strong sense of community spirit and a desire to live their own life and to promote their own social welfare. That is the line we want to work.

The one thing which struck me most, and which is of general application, is that we want more "mixing", as the Prime Minister has said several times—not in a patronising manner, but on terms of absolute equality. I have no doubt whatsoever that if Indians from other parts of India were to settle there and live among them—they would certainly, by their contact, benefit those people —but probably they will learn much more themselves than what they would impart to them. Everywhere the lesson that I have learnt, both among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and backward classes, is that the room for work is not so much in the legislative sphere, not so much by coercive process, as what Gandhiji taught us, namely in the persuasive sphere, through non-official agencies. One of the recommendations made by the Special Officer is that it would be far more useful and more desirable if public money were spent through non-official agencies, non-official groups and organisations and individuals who dedicate their lives to this work, than through official agencies. That has been my view for many many years past. I only pray and wish that that spirit would inspire many people, men and women, among us to serve among them. Of course I want that members of those communities should serve their own brethren. And they are doing it. People who are now becoming educated go there. I saw that in the Lushai Hills: educated men living there, simple lives, not cutting themselves away because they have become graduates or others. But our duty is far higher at the moment than of others. Because, if you proceed through the coercive process, through the process of punishment, then of course you gain your object, but you leave a touch of bitterness behind. Can not help it. That is human nature. But Gandhiji taught us the right way, the persuasive way. It is a slow way. The Special Officer has pointed out—and we all know, hon. Members have stressed it here time after time —many disabilities from which our brethren, the Harijans are suffering in many areas. I know that myself. They are not allowed to use public wells. It may be that in the so called Part B States the hardship may be greater for the very simple reason that in the Part A States— my hon. friend Mr. Jagjivan Ram is shaking his head as he knows much better than myself about this matter.....

Hon. Members: Certainly.

Dr. Katju: I myself come from a Part B State. Maybe conditions in Bihar are very bad because he comes from Bihar.

Hon. Members: Still worse in many other parts.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members need not interrupt. They will have their opportunity to speak.

Dr. Katju: I was saying that in many parts in Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat the impact of foreign ideas has not been so severe and so intense as it has been in some of the Part A States which were living directly under the limelight of modern civilization. In many parts of Rajasthan, of course, there are old conservative ideas which still prevail. In some places a Special Officer has been appointed but that does not mean that in the Part A States the conditions are ideal. Well, particularly complaints I have heard from the rural areas. In towns and big cities there may not be because conditions are different there. There are all sorts of facilities and people mix. When I was in Calcutta, a barber was

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prosecuted for not shaving a member of the Harijan community. I do not know from which community the barber came but he refused to shave and he was prosecuted and fined Rs. 15. He was an enterprising individual. He took the case to the Calcutta High Court and there he said, "Well, I am an entirely independent person. I have got a right to shave or not to shave. I have got my right to shave 'A' and not 'B' but the High Court Judges said, "Under the rules of the Calcutta Corporation you have got a licence to carry on the trade of a barber and therefore you cannot refuse to shave anybody who comes. He should be shaved". If he had thrown away his licence, then probably he would have been a free man. The result was he was fined Rs. 15. The House would draw the moral from this, a barber refusing to shave and there is the public feeling about it. But I do feel, that while we must take all possible steps to enforce the law to make the constitutional provisions about the abolition of untouchability real in every sense of the word, the rule has much greater of wider activity in the social sphere. Public opinion must be changed. I suggest that Members of this House and members of the State Legislatures throughout India might set a good example by treating in their own private life, in their own private homes, members of the Harijans as members of their families. That would be a much useful example than making fine speeches in public and acting upon different principles in their own life.

So far as eradication of untouchability is concerned, the House might have seen that we have made enquiries that practically in every State legislations already exist for making untouchability an offence, a real offence. Somewhere it is punishable. A proposal to pass a Central Act on this topic is under examination. Many States have been consulted. Replies have been received and we will see whether it is necessary or not. I have got a long list of States where legislation already prevails and there is really not much need for it in those States. Secondly, this report gives you in one compact place the provision in the Constitution bearing upon it and it would be helpful.

The second topic which has very often been raised is the question of services. On the higher grade Government has done whatever it could to encourage employment. We have, for instance, relaxed the age limit from 24 to 27 and I hope that in the subordinate grades, difficulties would disappear and there would be opportunities available for all classes of employment. It is in the higher sphere, in the IAS and IPS that difficulties are sometimes apparent. It is really a dilemma. On the one hand we must do justice to these people who have not had so far their fair share in these high offices. On the other hand, the country must not suffer from, what shall I say, inefficiency in handling all our big posts. We have issued the necessary instructions that everything should be done to help them. I know very well that young men who come from these Harijan homes do not have the advantage of a good surrounding, a good environment and it may be that in *viva voce* examination they do not come up to the standard which you find in people from among the higher classes. But the Public Service Commission make full allowance for that fact and I can only assure the House that the Government is fully alive to the importance of this problem and we are doing our very best to handle it in everyway we can. Please remember one thing. Apart from these Services, the Central Services, the field of activities really lies in the States. Government makes grants. Last year, I think, the House granted nearly two crores of rupees and the procedure is, every State Government is requested to send up schemes in due time for careful examination so that grants may be allocated to them for the purpose. The schemes are examined and, I hope, are properly executed. The Special Officers go about advising the State Governments, seeing that the work is being properly done.

I know that many hon. Members are most anxious to take part in this debate today, a debate for the first time in this House, and I am most anxious to hear them. Therefore, I do not want to stand in their way. I shall only repeat once again that the problem is not so much a problem for legislative activities of this House or legislative activities elsewhere. It is a problem for the conscience of the community. Gandhiji used to say that the higher classes have been largely responsible for this. They are responsible for the degradation of a large section of the commmunity in India. They must do penance for this; they must perform *prayaschita*; they must now make good by increased effort. With my feeble voice, I can only repeat that and call upon educated Indians of the higher classes to devote themselves, now that India has become free, to whole time service for this. Look at these missionaries. I tell you, it is a remarkable thing. In the Assam hills, in the Cen-

tral provinces, Madhya Bharat, in Orissa, in jungles, forests, hills, far away from civilization, they went there, they settled down there, they built settlements there, they built colleges, schools, and hospitals. I have come across missionaries, man and wife who have been there ten years, 12 years, 13 years.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj (Sholapur—Reserved—Sch. Castes): What about conversions?

Dr. Katju: Now, you stop that. The point is this. My hon. friend interrupted me by saying about conversions. They came not so much for political domination, but for the spread of their gospel. That is a different matter.

An Hon. Member: Saving souls.

Dr. Katju: What I was saying was that we should emulate their spirit. That is the important point. What touched me most was this. I went to one place. A man and his wife were there from Scotland. Very fine people. They invited me to go there. I asked, 'how long have you been here'. They said, 13 years. I asked, 'when are you going home'. They said, 'we propose going for a holiday for four months next year if possible, otherwise not'. Just imagine, 13 years, in that small locality, cut off from all civilization. Well, India has now become free. I pray that thousands and tens of thousands of people of our schools and colleges, educated people as I said men and women, should make it their business to go and live among them, propagate the gospel of independence, of free India, what free India stands for, gospel of patriotism, of prosperity for all sections and bring them together. That is what we want. That is the need of the hour. Let the Ramakrishna Mission, the Adim jati sangh form new groups. What is required is not material, not money, not legislative action. I tell you what is required is men. Men should come forward if this problem is to be solved.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

> "That the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the period ending 31st December, 1951, be taken into consideration."

Shri Nanadas (Ongole—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

1. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

> "and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the only method of solving the social, educational and economic problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is to implement the special provisions of the Constitution safeguarding the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes without any delay:
>
> (1) by making the observance of untouchability a cognizable offence by law and enforcing it with the help of a Special Central Police Force on the lines of Prohibition Police Force in the Madras State;
>
> (2) by providing facilities for free and compulsory education from primary education upto advanced higher technical courses for all the children of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes;
>
> (3) by reserving seats perpetually for ten years in all Central and State services both civil and military and also reserving seats in services even for promotions and giving necessary training to the candidates of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for filling the reserved vacancies without any delay;
>
> (4) by making provision for assigning immediately two acres of cultivable wet land or ten acres of cultivable dry land to each average family of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and providing them with the necessary financial and other help so as to enable them to cultivate the lands assigned to them profitably; and
>
> (5) by giving State subsidies and loans to the cottage industries (to be run on co-operative basis) especially to the handloom weaving and leather manufactory industries which are the artisan industries of the Scheduled Castes."

2. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

> "and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that to solve, the social, educational and economic problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes a 'Ten-Year Plan' should immediately be adopted with a provision for rupees eight hundred crores expenditure (calculated on the basis of the present general Five-Year Plan and the population of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes)."

Shri Bheekhu Bhai (Banswara-Dungarpur—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): I beg to move:

1. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950 be so amended as to cover Bhil tribe with its sub-tribes throughout the State of Rajasthan as in other States of India".

2. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Orders be so amended as to include the Adivasies left out for want of proper specification".

Shri Jaipal Singh: (Ranchi West—Reserved Sch. Tribes): I think, Sir, you have been apprised as to why Mr. Anthony is unable to be present to move his amendment in person. If I have your permission, I would like to move it on his behalf.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is not usual to allow any other Member to move except in the case of Members of Government. Mr. Anthony told me this morning that he is engaged in a case against him or where he is himself one of the parties to the suit and that he has to argue his case. Therefore, I will make an exception in his favour. Will he come this afternoon?

Shri Jaipal Singh: I think he will.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This will stand over. If he comes, he will move it.

Dr. Katju: May I have your leave to say one sentence, Sir? I should like to inform the House that the Commission for backward classes under article 340 of the Constitution will be set up next week. I am sorry for some delay that has taken place. It has been due to some difficulty about the terms of reference and also about the personnel. The whole thing has now been completed and I am confident that we will be able to make a public announcement about the whole matter some time next week.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Mr. Anthony's amendment will stand over for the present. If any discussion follows, it may be taken as moved. Hon. Members who have anything to say on that may also address themselves to this matter.

Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same this House is of opinion that more effective and urgent steps be taken to eradicate the sin of untouchability and confer the progress assured to these communities by the Constitution."

Shri N. M. Lingam (Coimbatore): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that—

(a) the report of the Commissioner as respects the conditions of living of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward classes and the various disabilities they suffer from is neither exhaustive nor precise,

(b) the steps taken by State Government to improve the lot of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward classes are not adequate,

(c) more concerted measures should be undertaken by the Union and State Governments to focus public attention on this problem and remove the blot from the land within the period of ten years stipulated in the Constitution by a vigorous scheme of social, economic and educational improvement of these classes".

Shri Veeraswamy (Mayuram—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

1. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that for complete eradication of untouchability steps be taken for strict enforcement of article 17 of the Constitution with stringent measures throughout India to bring to book observers of untouchability in any manner and give them severe punishment."

2. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that immediate steps should be taken to put into execution article 46 of the Constitution—

(1) by suitable legislation for providing free compulsory education to the children of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from primary standard to at least matriculation and reservation of 15 per cent. of the seats in arts and technical colleges with adequate financial aid,

(2) by reserving 15 per cent. of posts in all cadres in all Departments of both Central and State Governments, 15 per cent. of seats in the Central and State Cabinets and the posts of Governors and Ambassadors,

(3) by assigning three acres of wet land or eight acres of dry land to every landless Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe agricultural family, and

(4) by providing house sites free of cost to every poor Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe family with payment of an adequate sum of money for construction of houses."

Shri Barman (North Bengal—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that a separate department be created at the centre to implement more fully the special provisions of the Constitution relating to backward classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes within the course of next ten years and to co-ordinate its activities with those of the States."

Shri K. C. Jena (Balasore—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move.

1. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that as a first step the State Governments should at the first instance allocate cultivable wastes of lands acquired by the abolition of zamindari to the people of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and give all facilities for the cultivation of the same."

2. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that technical or other aid should be given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for improving subsidiary or traditional industries undertaken by them."

3. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that, wherever available, either inside the villages or contiguous to them, house-sites should be procured for the settlement of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

Shri Ramananda Das (Barrackpore): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that a separate portfolio should be created at the Centre under a Scheduled Caste Minister for the all round progress and upliftment of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes and also to co-ordinate the upliftment activity of all the States in a uniform way in order to liquidate untouchability and backwardness of these down trodden communities within ten years."

Shri Nanadas: I beg to move:

1. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion social, educational and economic problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes cannot be solved within ten years period unless the provisions of article 31, particularly clause (2) of article 31, of the Constitution are suitably amended so that the State can acquire the movable and immovable properties including commercial and industrial undertakings, lands and buildings of private individuals and groups without paying any compensation and distribute the lands and properties thus acquired to the people of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The provisions of article 31 of the Constitution, therefore, should be suitably amended without any delay."

[Shri Nanadas]

2. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that to solve the social, health, educational and economic problems of the Scheduled Castes, a provision similar to that made in favour of Scheduled Tribes, from the Consolidated Fund of India be made to the Scheduled Castes by suitably amending the provisions of article 275 of the Constitution."

3. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that to secure due representation of the people of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the services of the States a provision be made in the Constitution reserving seats in the services of the States for the people of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in proportion to their population by suitably amending the provisions of clause (2) of article 339 of the Constitution."

Shri Thimmaiah (Kolar—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

1. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that there should be a separate Ministry at the Centre in order to fully implement the various safeguards provided in the Constitution for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes."

2. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the existing reservation of 12½ per cent. of vacancies filled by direct recruitment for the Scheduled Castes and five per cent. for Scheduled Tribes should apply also to I.A.S. and I.P.S."

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same this House is of opinion that there should be two Deputy Commissioners to assist the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and—

(1) that there should be an uniform rule throughout the Indian Union that the Scheduled Castes students prosecuting higher education in various universities should be exempted from all tuition fees and be granted adequate scholarships and that this rule should be made applicable to students of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, who are studying in medical, engineering and other Colleges and the limit should be upto M.A. or M.Sc. and that the foreign scholarships should be re-introduced;

(2) that there should be uniform rule throughout the Republic of India that there should be reservation of seats for these classes in the Government services, in all departments, in accordance with the provision in the Constitution in the proportion of their population;

(3) that the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be adequately equipped with power and authority to see that the above mentioned provision is made in the services and the vacancies are filled in promptly;

(4) that the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes be nominated on the Public Service Commission in order to see that the provisions as regards the services are properly carried out:

(5) that the people from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be appointed in all grades which have been created by Government's Re-organisation Scheme;

(6) that the forced labour prevalent in all Indian villages should be abolished at once considering it as *ultra vires* of the provision of the Constitution and be declared as cognizable offence;

(7) that cultivable waste land be given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for cultivation and the State Governments should be made to grant these cultivators a loan to cultivate these waste-land profitably on long term basis;

(8) that the Government should consider it their duty first to provide houses to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people suitable for human habitation as they are living today in filth, squalor and insanitation;

(9) that the people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be financially equipped to start cottage industries such as leather tanning, shoemaking, rope making, etc.;

(10) that special attention be paid to the interest of the martial communities from Scheduled Castes and Tribes and the young men from them should be recruited in all ranks of the militia of this country;

(11) that the special battalions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be raised in order to turn these people into fighting men;

(12) that there should be separate 'Ministry for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes' in Government and the Minister so appointed should be of Cabinet rank;

(13) that there should be special advisory Board to advise the commission and the specially appointed Minister and that the Advisory Board, thus created, should consist of mebmers only belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes;

(14) that in consideration of the backwardness of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes the period of limitation of ten years embodied into the Constitution for reservation of seats in the Union and State Legislatures should be extended to 20 years;

(15) that where the Scheduled Castes people are in majority in the villages, a separate colony should be established for them in order to facilitate their leading a more honourable life;

(16) that there should be provision for free legal aid to the people of these classes, who are harassed by the caste Hindus in the rural areas;

(17) that those members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who want to migrate to India from Pakistan should be afforded all possible financial and other aid for doing so and special attention be given to their rehabilitation problem; and

(18) that the members of Scheduled Castes residing in Jammu and Kashmir should be afforded all facilities provided by the Constitution."

Shri Balmiki (Bulandshahr Distt.—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion—

(1) that the Scheduled Castes and Tribes Commissioner has failed to mention about the deteriorating conditions of the sweepers, scavengers and other municipal workers and to take immediate measures to improve their condition;

(2) that in the matter of deciding scholarships and giving facilities to the Scheduled Castes much consideration should be given to Balmiki, Mehtar, Hella, Domar, Rawat, Doem, Mushar, Bansphor, Kanjar and other communities which are most backward among the Scheduled Castes;

(3) that communities like Khatic and Kori which have been eliminated from the Scheduled Castes list in U.P. must be included in Scheduled Castes list;

(4) that as all the legislations for the removal of the social disabilities of the Scheduled Castes have failed to safe-guard the Scheduled Castes in all States, a comprehensive, effective and solid legislation must be passed by the Centre;

(5) that there must be a separate department and portfolio at the Centre to look after the Scheduled Castes, Tribes and other backward classes' rights."

Dr. Jatav-vir (Bharatpur-Sawai Madhopur—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that a proper machinery should be set up to ensure the adequate representation in the Central Services of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as at present the representation is not even one per cent. whereas an aggregate sixteen-and-two-thirds per cent has been guaranteed under the instructions issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs resolution No. 42/21/49-NGS, dated the 13th September, 1950."

Sardar A. S. Saigal (Bilaspur): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House appreciates the efforts made by the Government in ameliorating the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon): Sir, I have given notice of an amendment to the amendment moved by Sardar A. S. Saigal.

Mr Deputy-Speaker: When?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: The notice has not come before you. We received copies of these amendments at about 9 A.M. today, and I have given notice now in the Notice Office.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The copies were received only at 9 A.M. this morning?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Yes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Inasmuch as it is an amendment to an amendment, I shall waive notice.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I beg to move:

"that in the amendment moved by Sardar A. S. Saigal, the following be added at the end:

"and desires that these efforts be intensified so as to ensure that within a period of ten years from the inauguration of the Constitution all the disabilities from which the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes suffer be totally removed and these Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the backward classes rise up to the standard of and are integrated with all other classes in the country."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Both the original motion as also the amendments that have been moved now, and the further amendment to the amendment are now before the House.

May I say that I have received already requests from as many as 55 or 60 hon. Members who want to participate in the discussion? The time originally allotted ...

Shri Vallatharas (Pudukkottai): Sir, I am a bit late ...

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Delay is always dangerous. The hon. Member will kindly sit in his seat.

Originally, half a day was allotted to this, but full day has been allotted since. The points need not be elaborated. Of course, various hon. Members, all put together, will touch all the points in the report. I would request hon. Members, as far as possible, to avoid repeating the same thing. Elaborate arguments are not necessary. They may state the points for the consideration of the hon. Minister.

Thirdly, I would like to limit the speeches to ten minutes each.

Some Hon. Members: No. Sir.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Quite right.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Otherwise, a number of them will have to be elbowed out. In ten minutes the points can be made, except in.....

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): May I suggest that Harijans may be given 15 minutes, and non-Harijans 10 minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I wanted to mention that, but I forgot. I shall give preference to Members of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward classes, and if there is any time left, for the others.

Shri S. S. More: The uplift of the backward classes or the Scheduled Castes is not exclusively a matter for the Scheduled Castes themselves. We are conscious of our own responsibility, and therefore, we must also be given an opportunity to have our say, because it happens—I am citing an illustration—when there was a debate on Bengal, only Bengalis participated, and none else.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is nothing of that kind. Hon Members would do well to hear from those persons who are affected, as to how far this meets with their demands, and their suggestions, if any. It is admitted that the Government and all hon. Members are deeply interested in the case of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward classes. The Scheduled Castes and Tribes want these to be translated into action and they want to suggest alternative remedies where they are inconvenient. Therefore, the other hon. Members, instead of taking themselves, will hear what the representatives of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes have to say and try to implement. They can, however, speak, if they can be given a chance.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): Some of us have joint electorates with Scheduled Tribes, and we

are all excluded from taking part in the debate.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am not excluding any hon. Member. I have no right. But I have always got the right to adjust the debate. That I shall do.

Shri D. D. Pant (Almora Distt.—North East): I rise on a point of ...

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Point of what?

Shri D. D. Pant: Supposing I prove that it is the members of the Scheduled Castes also who are to a very great extent responsible for its not being translated into action, should I not get an opportunity?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Certainly, but not first.

Shri Vallatharas: In view of the importance of the subject, you may be pleased to overlook my delay, and take my amendments on hand. I will see that this does not occur again.

Shri Velayudhan (Quilon *cum* Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): As a special case, it can be granted because in the case of Mr. Frank Anthony also you have made an exception.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker. I shall do so.

Shri Vallatharas: I beg to move:

1. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Criminal Tribes Act and all Amendment Acts of the Centre and the States should forthwith be suspended, and repealed in due course, and that no direct or indirect criminal legislation on the basis of caste, class or tribe be resorted to except by resorting to the general criminal laws of the Country."

2. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the attitude and conduct of the Police and Magisterial departments continue to be discriminative regarding the backward classes, and the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, and largely require a thorough change of mind and heart."

3. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that a purely non-official committee in each district consisting of the sitting and ex-members of the State and Central Legislatures be constituted with the sub-magistrate of the capital town of the district as secretary and convenor, whose duty will be to watch the progress and improvement of the backward classes, and the Scheduled Castes and tribes in the district, and to submit at least twice a year in January and July a report to the concerned State and Central Ministries."

4. That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same this House is of opinion that the Central Government may grant proper and adequate help to *bona fide* local organisations who with a view to secure and consolidate the responsible coordination and self help of the members of the backward classes and the Scheduled Castes and tribes organise educational institutions to bear the burden of educating their members to some extent with their available resources."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All these amendments are also before the House. Hon. Members, when they speak, will address the Chair, and also have an eye on the clock.

Shri Nanadas: I rise to speak on behalf of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who are the toiling masses in this country. Many people have said and have written about the disabilities of the Scheduled Castes and I need not reiterate them here, but I want to quote one or two important persons. It is what Mr. Gandhi said about the Scheduled Castes.

Hon. Members: Not Mahatma Gandhi?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Nobody disputes it. Hon. Members will say how far this is wanting and how better this can be implemented, in as short a time as possible.

Shri Nanadas: Yes, Sir. This is just an introduction.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is taking away so much from his own time.

Shri Nanadas: This is what he said:

"Socially, they are lepers. Economically they are worse than slaves. They are relegated for their residence to the worst quarters of cities and villages, where they practically get no social services."

Another important person, Dr. Pattabhi, said like this.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: When was that?

Shri Nanadas: In the year 1940.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Many years have passed.

Shri Nanadas: While speaking at the second conference of the Agricultural Labourers, he said:

> "A series of intermediaries has come into being between Government and the ultimate cultivator who spends the day between slush and mud, who works now with an half-appeased appetite, who knows no rest in storm or sunshine, who oftentimes has no dwelling site which he can call his own. He grows our paddy, but starves. He feeds our milch cows, but never knows anything beyond *canjee* and water; he fills our granaries, but has to beg each day's rations for the rest of the year. He digs our wells, but cannot touch them for his use, he clears our tanks, but must keep off them when they are full. He is a perpetual hewer of wood and drawer of water for those who fatten on his labour, and rise to wealth and plenty on his skeleton."

Of course, he said this 12 years ago, but even today the position of the Harijan is not different from this. And Mr. Srikant in his report very recently mentioned about many disabilities of the Harijans that are being observed throughout the country. He has stated that at Narak-kund in Ajmer, the Scheduled Castes people are made to dissolve the night soil in water by trampling by feet. He calls it inhuman. Scheduled Castes bridegrooms are not allowed to ride on horse-backs and women are not allowed to wear ornaments.

There are many such instances, but many politicians argue that untouchability is centuries old. That is not correct. Untouchability is not centuries old. My contention is that the people who lived in the past and observed untouchability died long ago and the observance of untouchability died along with them. So, it is only the living present that is observing untouchability. So, I say it is not centuries old with us. It is only, say, some 60 or 70 years old with us. With me, it is only 30 years; of course, Sir, with you, it may be 50 or so, but with the majority of the people, it is less than 50 years. So, it is not correct to argue that untouchability is centuries old, and it cannot be eradicated within a short time. It is only an escapism.

Congress organisations and Congress Governments boast from the house tops that they are doing much for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and for the eradication of untouchability. But I would like to tell them that it is only the evolution of time that has been responsible for that. In the world, many changes are taking place, and when you take into consideration the progress made in other countries, the progress that we have made in this country is negligible, and the Congress Governments and the Congress organisations who talk about Harijan welfare must be ashamed of what has been done.

An Hon. Member: Why?

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): You are doing nothing but talking.

Shri Nanadas: The Congress Governments and the Congress organisations have failed to eradicate this curse imposed by Indians on Indians. But for the political tactics of Congress, untouchability would have been obliterated by now by the iron hand of a proletarian dictatorship. It is only the privileged and some influenced classes that are encouraging the observance of untouchability? Unless and until these people are deprived of the privileges they are enjoining, untouchability cannot be eradicated.

The Bihar Harijan Enquiry Committee says that forced labour exists in many parts of Bihar. The majority of Harijans are *Kamias* and though the past practice of selling themselves and their heirs into bondage has ostensibly disappeared, the *Kamia* continues to be in a state of slavery, which has assumed an even more different and more spacious form and exists in the shape of what is euphemistically called 'voluntary assistance'. The Bihar Harijan Enquiry Committee further says:

> "The vast majority of the State's 5 million Harijans do not possess any land at all and are 'mere agrestic serfs'. Indeed the ordinary Harijan lives in a wretched house in which there is hardly room to stretch his body, segregated in villages, where he is denied the right of using common wells and moving about freely, perennially in debt and suffering from chronic starvation."

The report further says:

> "The lot of the scavengers is miserable in cities and towns where freedom from caste restriction is a mere garb."

This is how we are segregated in the villages and ill-treated by the so-called caste Hindus. We have 'Malanism' observed in each and every village, town and city and we have no moral right to criticise Malan or Americans for their inhuman treatment of the Negroes, when the same position is true of the Scheduled Castes in our country as well. In fact, we must take a lesson from this.

Mr. Srikant says in his report that generally, the problem to be tackled in the villages is to permit the Harijans to draw water from the common wells and allow them to go to shops, public restaurants, hotels etc. He says that in spite of the Social Disabilities (Removal) Acts adopted by various States very few cases have been recorded in the courts of law for breach of the provisions of these Acts. The main reason for this is that Harijans have no courage to come forward either to draw water from common wells or to go to shops, public restaurants, hotels etc., as they are generally economically dependent on non-Harijans in one way or the other. So this economic servitude is standing in the way of the Harijans. Unless and until the Government moves quickly to make these people economically independent, untouchability cannot be eradicated.

Mr. Srikant also explained at length how these laws cannot be effectively enforced in the States, in an effective manner, and have become only a dead letter on the statute books. I therefore suggest that the Central Government must make a uniform legislation for the whole of the country, making the observance of untouchability a cognizable offence, and enforcing it rigorously with a special police force organised for the purpose. The Congress Governments and the so-called orthodox Hindus who still believe in the observance of untouchability must read the writing on the wall, and submit to the progressive forces. Otherwise, they will have to reap the consequences of their narrow-minded foolhardiness.

Education is the most effective instrument of uplift. Therefore, increased facilities must be provided for these people. The present system of giving free tuition in the schools and colleges and sanctioning of some grants to Harijan hostels and the granting of some scholarships to some Harijan students is not going to solve the problem of the educational backwardness of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The only right course is to give them free and compulsory education right from the primary stages up to the higher technical courses, because steeped in poverty and misery, they cannot send their children to schools and colleges of their own accord.

The Harijan hostels in Madras have become business concerns. They are not spending the whole amount on the students, but instead they are making profits at the misery of the students. So, I would suggest that the Government must take up the management of these hostels and run them at State-managed concerns. While giving scholarships, they are given only to the students who are living in the hostels. But since it is very difficult to get accommodation in the hostels, I would request that the scholarships must be given to all the students, whether they are living in the hostels or not. At present, the Central Government is giving scholarships only to the university students, but this facility must be extended to the high school students also.

In this connection, I want to make a suggestion regarding Scheduled Castes people converted into Christianity. These people, except for their religion, are in no way better than the Scheduled Castes people belonging to the other religions, in the matter of education and economic conditions. Except for the name of their religion, they are also leading a poverty-stricken life, and are unable to send their children to educational institutions. So I would suggest to the Government that the scholarships should be extended to the Scheduled Caste converts to Christianity also.

In some parts, the foreign missionaries are at present doing much harm to the Scheduled Castes converts. Instead of helping the people of the hill tribes, they are forcibly converting them by giving them some cloth or money. Especially in Madhya Pradesh, Chhota Nagpur, and Baster State and Assam Hills, they are converting thousands of people to their faith. And not only that, they are converting them to their political faith also, so much so, these people have now begun to say *Angrej baba ki jai*. It is really a very dangerous state of affairs. With all my respect for the secular State, I believe that this kind of political suicide should not be allowed any longer.

So far as the services are concernd, seats are reserved for the Scheduled Castes. But they are not being filled up from among the Scheduled Castes or Tribes. For instance, during the last four years, the Central Government appointed 623 officers for the Indian Administrative and other services, through the combined compete-

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tive examination. Though according to the reservation, the Scheduled Castes should get about 78 appointments, actually only four have been appointed. Not only in the Central Government, but in the State Governments also, the same thing is going on. Replying to a question in the Madras Legislative Assembly, the hon. Minister for Co-operation said that there were only four Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies out of a total of 96 such officers in that State, and only six Co-operative Sub-Registrars belonging to Scheduled Castes, out of 388 such officers in that State as a whole.

The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has failed to give us the information regarding the services, but in a booklet *Harijans Today* issued by the Government, it is mentioned that there are only 70 officers belonging to the Scheduled Castes in the whole of the Central Services in the country. But there are a thousand others belonging to the other classes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have already given the hon. Member 15 minutes.

Shri Nanadas: For all the States put together, there are only 213 gazetted officers. This kind of thing should not be allowed to continue any longer. The reservations made for these people should be filled up without any delay, and the candidates must also be trained in this direction. The age relaxation should be enlarged. In the Madras State, even if a candidate is 30 or 40 years old, still he can join the service. In a similar way, the Central Government also must completely relax the age limits, so that the Scheduled Castes can take advantage of it.

Another point which I would like to mention is this.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Every hon. Member need not think of exhausting all the points.

Shri Nanadas: I want to say a few words on only one thing, namely lands.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No, I am not going to allow any more time. The hon. Member has said enough. That is enough. I have already allowed him 16 minutes.

Shrimati Khongmen (Autonomous Distts.—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): Coming as I do from the most backward tribe of the most backward State of India, I am of the opinion that I am the most backward Members of this House.

Hon. Members. No, no. Not at all.

Shrimati Khongmen: Hon. Members may have their opinion in this matter, but I think I should be the best judge of myself in this case.

With this background at my disposal, I should like now to make a few observations on the report given by the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I should like at this stage to pay my tribute to the memory of the Father of the Nation and also to all those framers of the Constitution. I should like to read article 338, which runs thus:

> "(1) There shall be a Special officer for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to be appointed by the President.
>
> "(2) It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under this Constitution and report to the President upon the working of those safeguards at such intervals as the President may direct, and the President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament."

I should like to congratulate the Government on their effort to implement this provision of the Constitution. I heartily welcome the appointment of a Special Officer to be in charge of this office. I am also glad to note that the officer in charge soon after his appointment made an extensive tour thorugh the States to study the conditions under which the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes live and to study for himself the extent of social, economic and educational disabilities from which they suffer. I have no doubt this is the right step taken in the right direction. But I regret to note from the report in which the learned Commissioner says on page 61:

> "Even the Part A States supplied me with incomplete material as probably they did not attach as much importance to this office as to others..."

I hope in future the States as well as the Centre will pay more attention to this office so as to enable it to function efficiently.

Sir, as you have already said that many hon. Members of the Scheduled

Castes and Scheduled Tribes of this House are eager to speak on this subject, I will now confine myself to saying something about the tribes of Assam, of whom I claim to know something. The hon. the Home Minister, Dr. Katju, just now related to us the condition of the hill people who live in Assam. He has painted a rosy picture of the ways of life of these people in the hills. But I should like to tell the House that he has completely forgotten to give the full picture.

Shri B. S. Murthy: The real picture.

Shrimati Khongmen: May I have the undivided attention of the hon. Minister?

Dr. Katju: It is always at your disposal.

Shrimati Khongmen: He has not related the real condition of the tribes. He has only spoken of those people, of the Lushais who have got more advantages over the others through the help of the missionaries. But he has completely forgotten that two-thirds of Assam is inhabited by the tribal people who are at all stages of civilisation. You can even now find absolutely naked people and head-hunters in that area. So the problem of their upliftment is a difficult one.

These people in this area have practically no means of communication, as the hon. the Home Minister has already stated. But the people there are self-reliant and if only Government give them help, I am sure they will be able to help themselves. He has stated the difficulties of constructing roads in the hill area. But, I am sure, it will not be very difficult for Government, if they only try, to help these people. I will give you an instance. There are no hospitals and schools, and yet, with the help of the missionaries these people have been able to build and construct many schools in the interior villages. Given equal opportunities, I am sure these people will be able to help themselves. I therefore want the Government to pay more and special attention to these people living in these tribal areas of Assam.

Besides, as the House may be aware, the tribal areas of Assam are on the border of Pakistan and every effort should be made by Government to help them to uplift their economic condition, their social and educational condition as well. The hon. Home Minister was good enough to say that we should approach these people on equal terms. That is very true. The hill people are proud and sensitive and they do not like any one to go to them with a sort of superiority and they like to meet everyone on equal terms. I remember when the Prime Minister visited our hills in the year 1945, and when he addressed a meeting and called the people a microscopic minority, there was so much sadness in the hearts of the people and they were really in doubt that when India attained independence they might completely be forgotten. But, what a world of difference it made when during his last visit this year, in one of the meetings he said, 'I do not come to you as the Prime Minister but I come to you as one hill man to another'. And, believe me, these words have helped to bring these people behind him.

Somehow I am unable to speak today and give you a full picture as to how these people in the hills suffer, but I may inform the House that the problem is very grave indeed and these people should be helped both by Government as well as by every one of us here.

Shri Barman: I must first of all thank our Government that they have given us a full day for the discussion of this stupendous problem. It is not a problem of the Scheduled Castes, Tribes and other backward classes but it is an important national porblem. In the words of our Poet Laureate, Tagore untill and unless you can improve the condition of the millions of these backward classes, the country cannot go forward. In his inimitable words, he says, 'my unfortunate country, the people whom you have left behind will be a drag upon your progress'. So, after that emphatic declaration of our Poet Laureate, Tagore, I do not think it requires more speeches to understand that it is not a problem of the backward classes only but it is a national problem of the utmost importance.

12 NOON

Today the hon. Home Minister has given us a picture of these unfortunate people. It is for us not to dilate on details, because the conditions are known more or less to everybody in this House and also to many understanding hearts outside, but simply to relate how we have taken the measures of the Government so long and wherein we require improvements and in what direction. It is for that reason that I have given an amendment to the original motion of the hon. Minister, that, to my mind, in order to fully implement what has been ordained by our Constitution, it requires a full-fledged department in the Central Government to look into this all-important matter. We know that Government has done to a great extent what is possible for them under the pressure of multifari-

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ous duties, but, I am, at the same time, confident that if Government creates a deparment exclusively to look into the implementation of the provisions of the Constitution, we can go ahead with this important problem and find a solution with far greater speed. The task of that department will mainly be to study more intensively and extensively the problems, to devise adequate legislation, to frame and modify rules and regulations, to supervise the actual compliance with the laws and regulations by the respective administrative units and lastly to advise the State Governments to fall in line and coordinate their activities with those of the Centre. It is for that reason that I have tabled this amendment. I may forget to give some compliment to the Special Officer who has done this task. He has brought to light to this whole House and also to the outside world how the problems of the Scheduled Castes, Tribes and other backward classes stand at present. He has pointed out some defects and it is from those things that he has pointed out that my point is substantiated that it is high time that the Government should form a full-fledged department.

In the short space of time it is not possible for me to deal with all the points that I have a mind to tell here, but I shall simply touch those points on the line in which I have given my amendment. I shall touch only on three points. So many things have to be said and so many ideas huddled together that certainly I have to elbow out others and I have to point out only three important points that I like to dilate.

First of all regarding untouchability, I must pay a tribute to the Congress Government and the Congress organisation. My hon. friend on the opposite had said that the boasting of the Congress in this matter is not worth while. I comoletely repudiate that idea. If any organisation in this country has ever thought of the unfortunate conditions of the Scheduled Castes, it is Congress and Congress alone.

Shir P. N. Rajabhoj: So, you are elected.

Shri Barman: Many great men in our country have from the earliest times stressed the importance of the removal of untouchability, but it is for the first time that our great leader, the Father of the Nation, took up this task with the utmost earnestness in spite of the multifarious duties which he had to perform while travelling on the path of the independence of India. It is since his time that the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and the untouchables began to improve a great deal. After the advent of independence, the scope for improvement is much wider and those self-sacrificing leaders who had devoted their whole lives for the attainment of freedom and who had also devoted a lot of their time for the removal of untouchability—it is those leaders who have now to act unhindered for the fulfilment of this objective. It is because of the fact that there is no full fledged department at the Centre directly charged with the responsibility for this subject that things that could be done by this time have not been done. It is more than three years now that the Constitution has been passed. It has been laid down in the Fundamental Rights Chapter of the Constitution that it is the Central Government alone that can legislate on penal measures in regard to the matters that are laid down in that Chapter. So, if legislation has not been passed up till now, the responsibility is not that of any State, but it lies with the Centre. I quite appreciate that the Centre was during this time engrossed in so many other important duties that it had no time to reckon with this responsibility, but now that the Special Officer has submitted a report on the conditions of the backward classes, I think the Centre should constitute a full fledged department for this purpose.

Next I wish to say a few words about education. I must pay a tirbute to our Finance Minister and also to the Education Minister, because this year the grant that has been provided for scholarships to backward classes is nearly double of that provided last year, and to a great extent the present needs of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes have been met, though not of course those of the backward classes. But our Finance Minister has promised that as conditions require he would be ready to give more funds and we are satisfied with that promise. At the same time, I should point out that in the States the position is not so good. Many of the States, and more particularly Madars and Hyderabad, have gone a long way but so far as the other States are concerned, the conditions are not so good as far as I can see.

Then, again, as regards the services, the Centre has at least acted according to the dictates of the Constitution and it has reserved posts. But the implementation of such reservation is quite a different matter. There also, I think that unless and until a special department is charged with the job of super-

vising and also enforcing the decisions made by the Cabinet, things cannot come up to our expectation. As far as some of the States are concerned, I am sorry that the provisions of the Constitution have been completely ignored. To add insult to injury, in some States even that which the Scheduled Castes enjoyed before independence has been taken away. I, in my own humble sphere, have tried with the help of the Centre to remove a few defects in the farthest part from Delhi.

Shri B. S. Murthy: Pray, which is that honourable State?

Shri Barman: I do not like to mention the names. There are many States.

The Minister of Communications (Shri Jagjivan Ram): Refer to the report.

Shri Barman: Law stands in the way. It is said that the Law Department considers that so far as public services in the States are concerned, the Centre has no power to give any directions. So, what the Home Department has done is from time to time only to send our requests to remedy the defects. But this has not yet been done up till now, and the only reply which I have got as regards at least one State is that the matter is still under consideration and the Cenral Government is always telling the State Government to expedite its decision.

Why I am mentioning this is because I want to stress the importance of my original proposal that the Centre should now constitute a department which can take upon itself the full responsibility of implementing the provisions that have been laid down by the Constitution. The Constitution is there. There is no need for entering into further details or laying down any new policy. I want only the implementation of the policy that has already been laid down by the judgment of the whole country in the Constituent Assembly.

Shri B. S. Murthy: I am glad that this subject has been taken up for discussion today. Today has a special significance for India. Today India observes South Africa Day. All over India, from big towns to small villages, we Indians are holding meetings in order to codemn Malanism that is growing day by day and attack the *apartheid*, Acts which are entirely against human nature and which are creating division and dissension in South Africa and are disturbing peace and tranquillity there. When we think of South Africa we should not forget India. In India this Malanism has been in existence for centuries and it has gone to the very roots of human nature and has curbed human nature. Today once again we are thinking of eradicating the sin of untouchability. My hon. friend Dr. Katju said that we must be persuasive. He said that any coercive law will not be of avail and will not produce the desired effects. I entirely agree with him, but what about the six crores of Harijans and a few more crores of these backward and Scheduled Tribes who have been consigned to the lowest degradation in this country of ours of which we are very proud and of whose sages we are proud of speaking in season and out of season. What about their hearts? What have you done to persuade them —I mean these Harijans who have no raiment, no shelter, no decent living —and whom Miss Mayo described as 'less than dogs'. Do you want human dogs here? Do you want human beings to be dogs in an independent India? (*Some Hon. Members*: Shame, shame.) What are you doing for them? You promised almost on the death bed of Mahatma Gandhi in Yerawade jail that you would do everything to eradicate the sin of untouchability.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He will kindly address the Chair.

Shri B. S. Murthy: I am only addressing the Chair and through you, Sir, the other side. Only the wearer knows where the shoe pinches. It is all very well to indulge in platitudes, but when it comes to brass tacks, you cannot escape the fact that there are these men who have been consigned to degradation for centuries and for whom Mahatma Gandhi prepared to lay down his life. If anybody says that Murthy is talking through his hat, they may say so, but the report of the Commissioner is there. It is not complete. It is not satisfactory. Still, it contains some facts in it. It says that still Harijans are not allowed to ride on horses. Harijan women are not allowed to wear jewellery. Dr. Katju said we should try persuasiveness. Persuade whom? Persuade the Harijans to live that degraded life and make the caste Hindus to go and do *tapas* for them. Is it the penance that Gandhiji has asked the caste Hindus to do? When I say 'you' I do not refer to you Sir, or my hon. friends opposite but the Hindu community as a whole.

For the information of my hon. friends on the Treasury Benches, I may tell them that I have been an ardent congressman, a devotee of Gandhiji and I was in charge of the Andhra Harijan Sevak Sangh for several years. And today I have still a lingering faith

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that Jawaharlal Nehru, who is the Leader of the country will do something, because he has got a duty by the Harijans. Gandhiji has said that Jawaharlal Nehru, is his legal heir. (*Some Hon. Members*: Political heir.) Legal heir and political heir mean the same thing as he seems to be the only heir of Gandhiji. Now, I would have very much liked that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister, the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Nation had taken more interest in this subject which is of very vital importance for the shaping of the future of India. Also, I would have been very much pleased if Dr. Katju, the Minister in charge of this portfolio, happened to be in his seat now. It is all very well to say that private agencies must do this work; it is all very well to say that non-official organisations must spring up overnight and perform a miracle in making Harijans into something different from what they are today.

I would in this connection like to draw an analogy from the eagerness, or the care that the Central Government has bestowed on the refugee problem. The refugee problem is engaging the Government's attention day in and day out. Well, I welcome it, because it is a pressing need and it is a question that must be attended to immediately. But after all that question involves only about six to seven millions of people, whereas the Harijan question affects about 60 million people. To tackle the refugee problem the Centre has creatd a Rehabilitation Ministry and crores and crores of rupees are being spent month after month and scores of persons have been appointed, official and non-official. But what have you done so far regarding this problem of Harijan uplift? There is no Minister for that, except Dr. Katju, who among his other duties attends to this. I have no doubt that Dr. Katju is a man with a heart flowing with the milk of human kindness for my community. But is there a Ministry created solely for the sake of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward classes? No. They say attention is being given to this question.

I have read this report from the front page to the back page and from the back page to the front page. (*An Hon. Member*: How did you do it?) I managed it. But no mention is anywhere made to appoint a Central agency to implement the various assurances given in the Constitution to these suffering millions. They say that the State Governments must take care of them and that non-official organisations must take care of them.

When I am speaking about the creation of a separate Ministry for Harijan Welfare, Scheduled Tribes and the backward classes, I would like to say something about the representation of these classes in the present Cabinet itself. Out of nearly forty Cabinet Ministers, Ministers of State, Deputy Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries, there are only two souls to represent these seven, eight, nine or ten crores of people. Because they are the backward and Scheduled Classes! Why do you not think of these Harijans at least on a par with my good friends the Muslims? You have given them two Ministers and two Deputy Ministers. Do we not deserve it? They say qualified people are not available. Please look into the list of Ministers in the States. Some people who were attenders have been lifted to the position of Ministers. Thanks to this Government we have a learned Doctor in charge of Home Affairs.

I shall now deal with Harijan or backward classes' representation in the services and leave the other matters to be dealt with by my other hon. friends. Dr. Katju says: "We are trying to do our best". But what have you done? I want this Government to take a lesson from my leader Mr. Prakasam who, as Chief Minister of Madras State, in 1946 had given rupees one crore to the Harijan Fund. Why does not Dr. Katju persuade his colleage Mr. Deshmukh and get a hundred crores of rupees for the improvement of the lot of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward classes? When I think of Mr Prakasam, I also remember of Mr Rajagopalachari. What has Mr. Rajagopalachari done? In 1938 when he was the Chief Minister of Madras there was an advertisement for the selection of a Deputy Superintendent of Police from the Scheduled Castes. The Public Service Commission of the State conveniently wrote back to the Government: "We have called for applications, we have interviewed them: no suitable candidate is available. Therefore, we have selected a non-Brahmin". Then what did Shri Rajagopalachari do? He immediately turned it down and said: "No, re-advertise and get a man". It was done, a Harijan was appointed and today he is occupying a very respectable place in the Government of Madras.

When I think of the non-Brahmins I remember another thing. Dr Katju said: "We cannot think of allowing all Harijans to get into IAS and IPS with-

out considering the efficiency of administration". What is the efficiency? Why not take a lesson from the British Government who tried to please the non-Brahmins of the South. When the non-Brahmin community was not able to get into services through open competition in India, they selected some of them and sent them all the way to England and they got them trained there. Some of them are still in the service—Mr Ramakrishna, Mr Bhaskara Rao and Mr Raju. Why do you not nominate likewise some of the best Harijans and give them training? What you give by one hand you take away by the other. Is this to be the policy of the Government? Is it for this that Gandhiji staked his life for the Harijans?

You are aware of the untold miseries of these unfortunate beings in the South which a fossilised caste system has brought on them. Therefore, I want Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, my Leader, your Leader, everybody's Leader and the country's Leader to do something. He came to Madras. He talked about handloom; he talked about all other communities, but never said a word about these unfortunate people. In Nagpur he talked about equal opportunities for all. How can there be equal opportunities? You have kept these communities for centuries under your iron heel and today you ask them to come from under your heels and compete with you. This is not logic; this is not justice; this is not fairness. There must be a more realistic approach to the problem. Please remember: untouchability has been a danger and will be a danger. Pakistan was not born five years back. The day India recognised untouchability as an accepted system of Hinduism, Pakistan was born. And Pakistan has given us an idea of what human degraded nature could see in the country.

Therefore, I once again appeal to this House, and one more thing I would like to say. You are today the leaders of thought, the leaders of society and the leaders of the Government. It is for Pandit Nehru, Dr. Katju and others to come out and say: we are here to go the whole hog for the progress of this Harijan community. If nothing is done, the country will lose the freedom it has got, will once again have to do penance with much more rigours to see that India occupies a place in the comity of nations with respect and dignity.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Gam Malludora.

Shri Gam Malludora (Visakhapatnam—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): *Commenced speech in Telugu.*

Dr. Katju: Sir, I would ask hon. Members not to laugh, because I understand that the hon. friend is addressing us in Telugu and that a summary of it will be given by Dr. Lanka Sundaram.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member who is just now speaking is not able to speak either in English or Hindi. Therefore, I have allowed him to speak in his mother tongue, and Dr. Lanka Sundaram will translate it. The hon. Member comes from a tribal area and this is his first speech. Therefore, hon. Members would not create embarrassment to him.

Dr. Katju: I am most anxious to hear him.

Shri B. S. Murthy: He is a comrade of Mr. Raju, the great revolutionary leader of Andhra.

Shri Gam Malludora: *Spoke in Telugu.*

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: With your permission, Sir, I shall give a summary translation of what my hon. friend Mr. Malludora has said.

The first point he made was this that thirty years ago he took part in a rebellion against the British Government for three and a half years, a rebellion in the Agency areas, as a result of which, he said, he went to jail for eighteen years. He was actually transported for life. Because of the Agency rebellion in 1921-24 the area from which he comes, namely, the Agency areas of Visakhapatnam and East Godavari, have been suppressed by the British Government as a backwash of the rebellion of 1921-24.

The next point he made was this, that five years ago *Swaraj* has come, and he and his fellow people of the Agency areas felt that their troubles would be investigated into.

He said that in this report of Mr. Srikant no mention was made by name of these two Agency areas where there are six lakhs of people, and the appropriation sought to be made, as far as grants-in-aid are concerned, of rupees four lakhs is not even a rupee per head; this is not sufficient. Mr. Malludora said. Then he said that not less than Rs. 30 lakhs a year would possibly meet the requirements of these two Agency areas of Visakhapatnam and East Godavari.

He described the difficulties faced by this community in the Agency areas. He mentioned the Forest officers, the Excise officers, the Salt officers. These are the people by whom, as he said—

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and I think, Sir, you know the language as much as I do—their life-blood is being drained away. That is the nearest translation I can give of the words he used. He wants Mr. Srikant and his officers to go and investigate this particular area which has not been touched so far.

The other point he made was that the plainsmen and merchants have invaded the Agency areas and they are buying up the lands, that little by little their lands are being taken away as a result of the invasion of plainsmen.

And one important point which he sought to emphasize was this, that the Excise officials are themselves responsible for the manufacture of illicit liquor and that they themselves are arranging sales of this liquor. (*Shri B. S. Murthy*: They have nationalised it.) And he said, if these people do not submit to that formula, they are themselves arrested. He said in the old days there used to be licensed depots; now the depots are being taken away and almost every house in the village has got an illicit distillery.

Finally, he said that he had hoped to speak in his mother-tongue which he knows, but unfortunately up to the moment he did not have an opportunity, and he is very grateful to you, Sir, for giving him this opportunity of saying a few words in Telugu.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member comes from the Tribal areas of Madras State.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: That is right, Sir, from Visakhapatnam. And may I say one thing, that I propose to give this in writing for purposes of record?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It has been taken down.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I mean the full text.

Shri P. L. Kureel (Banda Distt. *cum* Fatehpur Distt.—Reserved—Sch. Castes): There is very little time at my disposal and I am at a loss to know what to speak and what not to speak. I will try my level best to place before this House a few suggestions in the limited time that is available to me.

This report has been submitted under article 338 of the Constitution to the President. Clause (2) of article 338 lays down that the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is required to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution and to report to the President upon the working of those safeguards at such intervals as he may direct. It is a very important report and I have gone through every page of this report. I find that more than half of this report has been devoted to appendices and only a few passages have been devoted to the problem of the Scheduled Castes. The rest of the pages contain some extracts from the census reports and some statements from other State reports. This report does not contain a single line or a single passage which goes to add to my information. I am really very much disappointed to read this report. This report is nothing but a clerical statement of certain privileges, of certain concessions granted to the Scheduled Castes. I wish it were an elaborate report containing all the safeguards, privileges given to the Scheduled Castes and how these safeguards and privileges have been implemented by the Government and by other agencies but I find to my greatest disappointment that there is no such thing in this report.

Even such a great measure like the Zamindari Abolition Act, which will go a long way in ameliorating the conditions of the depressed classes, is not there. The zamindari system has been mainly responsible for the degradation of the Scheduled Castes but not a single word has been mentioned in this report regarding it. Even Government measures existing in various States have not been mentioned in this report. My own State of U.P. has been ignored. There Harijans are employed in fair numbers in the Government Departments and I think my own State is doing a very commendable service to the Scheduled Castes. There you will find Harijan Sahayak Sub-Committees and there is the State Harijan Sahayak officer and the State Harijan Sahayak Board and a number of Regional Harijan Sahayak Officers and they are doing a lot for the Scheduled Castes.

I do not find anything in this report about all these matters. It contains nothing and it gives nothing and it suggests nothing and it is really surprising that this report does not contain the figures regarding the communal composition of the staff of any department of the Central Government or of any department of the State Governments. It does not say anything even about the Railway services—such an important service. It says nothing

about the communal composition of the staff of the Posts and Telegraphs offices and other important offices. It is very difficult for me to say anything on this report unless and until we have a complete picture before us. It is very difficult to give suggestions without the figures regarding the communal composition of the staff of the various departments having been made available to us.

I will point out that the communal representation to the Scheduled Castes was first provided in 1934. A resolution was moved and in that resolution, the following provision was made:

> "In order to secure fair representation for the depressed classes, duly qualified members of these classes may be nominated to a public service, even though recruitment to that service is being made by competition. Members of these classes, appointed by nomination, will not count against the percentages reserved in accordance with clause (1) above."

The resolution was published in the *Gazette of India*, dated 7th July 1934. In 1942, the position of the Scheduled Castes in the services was revised and in 1943 a definite quota was fixed for the Scheduled Castes in the services and that was 8½ per cent. In 1946 the position was again revised and the existing quota was raised to 12½ per cent. This was provided for recruitment by competition. In the case of reservations made otherwise than by open competition but made on an all-India basis, it was provided that 16⅔ per cent. of the vacancies should be reserved for Scheduled Castes.

I have got the figures of the various departments so far as the representation of the Scheduled Castes is concerned but it is very difficult for me in this short time to place all these figures before the House. I will only refer to the Railway services. Out of the 2,000 gazetted officers in the railways, only three gazetted officers belong to Scheduled Castes and in the class III railway service, the percentage of the Scheduled Castes is about three only against the quota of 12½ per cent. provided for them. It is really deplorable. How is it that there is no Scheduled Castes officer in the Railway Board? Similarly, there is no Scheduled Castes Superintendent in the Railway offices. In 1943, when I was a Member of the Central Legislative Assembly, I was assured by the then Home Member, Sir Mudie, who was for some time Governor of the U.P., that an effort would be made to appoint Scheduled Caste candidates on Railway Service Commissions. That was in 1943 and we are now in 1952. So far, no Scheduled Caste member has been appointed on any of the Railway Commissions. It is a very essential thing. This notoriously inadequate representation in the services is due to the fact that no representation to the Scheduled Castes has been given on the Public Service Commissions and on the Railway Commissions. In the Union Public Service Commission no Scheduled Caste member has been appointed. In the State Public Service Commissions there are no Scheduled Caste members. This is really deplorable. It is said that capable Scheduled Castes men are not available. Take any Scheduled Caste officer from the I.A.S. or from the I.C.S. There are two or three capable Scheduled Castes men in the I.C.S., and there are also capable Scheduled Caste men in the I.A.S. and there are certain senior officers in the P.C.S. Take any one of them. I know from my personal knowledge that many P.C.S. officers have been appointed on the Public Service Commissions after retirement.

Then I will come to one very important service, that is, the Army service. The Army service plays an important role in the regeneration of people. It gives a people an important place in the body politic and political status brings economic salvation in its wake. It carries with it not only official and administrative authority, but also political influence and social prestige. Social status follows as a necessary consequence of economic and political emancipation. I would like that the Scheduled Castes should be given due representation in the Army.

In 1943, I moved a resolution in the Central Legislative Assembly and it was accepted by the Government. After that resolution, several Scheduled Caste battalions were raised, several Scheduled Caste regiments were raised. But, to my greatest disappointment, today, I find that some of these battalions have been disbanded. All the Chamar battalions have been disbanded. Touching references were made to their bravery by the then Commander-in-Chief Auchinleck. Many references were made to their services on the Burma front. But, today I find that except the Mahar regiment, to which community Dr. Ambedkar belongs, and which has been made permanent, all the others have been disbanded. The Chamar regiment has been disbanded; the Bihar regiment which consisted mostly of Scheduled Castes and others have been disbanded. I feel very strongly on this point. No greater injustice can be done to a community than to deprive that community of its due share in the Army. Service

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in the Army will emancipate their conditions, will considerably improve their lot. I must tell you that service in the Army should not be the monopoly of a few privileged classes. No community is a born martial community. Today, we say that the Sikhs belong to a martial community. The Sikhs were not a martial community at the time of Guru Nanak. It were Guru Govind Singh and Guru Teg Bahadur who made the Sikhs a martial community. It is the duty of the Government to see that the Scheduled Castes become a martial community. It is in the interests of the Government; it is in the interests of the country; it is in the interests of the defence of the country. Every man should be a soldier at the time of war. We lost our freedom because we failed to give military training to a large number of people, because only a fourth of the population was allowed to carry sword. Now, if you want to safeguard this liberty, this freedom which we have achieved after so much sacrifice, we must give military training to the Scheduled Castes also. The Scheduled Castes will prove in no way inferior to any other martial community.

The same is the case so far as the police service is concerned. They should be given due representation in the security department, in the C.I.D., and adequate representation in all the officer ranks of the police. I would also like to make two or three suggestions so far as recruitment of Scheduled Castes people is concerned. A Special Officer should be appointed to scrutinise the staff of every department so far as communal representation is concerned, to pay surprise visits to the departments and see whether the Scheduled Castes are adequately represented or not, and to see that they are given a due share in the services and to take strict measures in this respect and to call for explanation if any department does not recruit Scheduled Castes candidates according to the quota.

Similarly, I would like to say something about employment exchanges. Whenever a department refers to the employment exchanges, I am sorry to say that it does not say how many Scheduled Castes candidates are required. The departments should give full information to the employment exchanges to enable them to send suitable Scheduled Castes candidates. Moreover, why do you entirely depend on the employment exchanges? I have written several D.Os. and forwarded several applications. Only one reply I have received and that reply is that application will be considered if it is recommended. I am greatly disappointed to note that none of them was sent to the departments concerned and none of them was appointed. We should not entirely depend on the employment exchanges. Let the departments recruit them directly and inform the employment exchanges.

One more point with regard to the services. I would like to say that a quota should also be fixed in the case of promotions. Promotions are made on two considerations: seniority and efficiency. Sometimes it is urged that promotion is made on the ground of seniority; sometimes it is said that promotion is made on the ground of efficiency. If a Scheduled Caste candidate comes in on account of efficiency, he is rejected on the ground that he is not senior. If a Scheduled Caste candidate is senior, his case is rejected on the made up excuse of incompetency. The procedure is very defective. I would request the Government to seriously consider the fixing of a quota even in the case of recruitment by promotion.

In regard to educational facilities, I am glad that money has been doubled for the educational uplift of the Scheduled Castes, and I quite appreciate that. I am thankful to the Government and to all those responsible, particularly to the Finance Minister. I will say two things in this connection. More facilities should be given to the Scheduled Castes for admission in the professional and technical institutions. This is very essential. Some reservation should be made in the technical and professional institutions, just as they have done in the U.P. some places are reserved in the Medical College, Lucknow and also in the Medical College, Agra. In Engineering colleges and other professional colleges, seats should be reserved for the Scheduled Castes. The scheme of sending Scheduled Caste boys overseas should be revived. There will be shortcomings in the beginning. They are brought up and educated in a different atmosphere. They have to face certain disabilities. Therefore, it will take some time before they are able to compete with the major communities. Certain communities on account of social training for centuries had acquired the genius of passing examinations. Selection should not depend entirely on the result of competitive examinations. Give them an opportunity. If you do not give them an opportunity, they will never be able to develop their mental and physical faculties.

Coming to social disabilities, in various provinces legislation has been undertaken for the removal of social

disabilities. Similarly, the Temple Entry Act also exists in some of the States. There is also a provision in the Indian Penal Code in section 374 which says, that any man who forces any other man to do compulsory labour against his will is punishable. I have been a member of the Bar and I very well know the difficulties that come in the way of the Scheduled Castes. In the first place, the offences are not cognisable. These offences should be made cognisable. In the second place, certain terms, such as inadequate wages, should be clearly defined, and explained. Anything can be inadequate; and anything can be adequate. I would request the Government to appoint in every district a Harijan Sahayak Committee to help them in the conduct of such cases coming under the Civil Disabilities Acts. A Special Officer or a first class magistrate should be appointed in every important town to look into the cases coming under the Civil Disabilities Acts. Unless you do that, it will not be possible to secure conviction in any such cases. Because, they are very poor and they cannot secure legal advice, and they face certain difficulties in securing evidence. Because they are economically dependent on the richer classes, it will not be possible for them to secure any evidence. So, a Harijan Sahayak Committee should be established in every district to help the Scheduled Castes in such matters.

Vast tracts of land are lying uncultivated. That land should be given to the Scheduled Castes. This will go a long way in improving their economic condition. Similarly, I would like that two Deputy Commissioners for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be appointed. My friend Mr. Srikant is very busy touring various parts of the country. His Assistant Commissioner is doing just routine work and his job is clerical in nature. So, I would request that at least two Deputy Commissioners for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be appointed from among the Scheduled Castes, and they will see that the safeguards granted under the Constitution are implemented.

In the end their uplift largely depends on the hon. Members and the men of the higher classes. If hon. Members and the people outside take an interest in the problem of the Scheduled Castes, if they really feel for them and try their best for their amelioration and if equal opportunity is afforded to them an enormous reserve of fresh and unexploited mental energy will be available and we will witness a great change, an intellectual revolution in this country, vaster in its sweep and magnitude than the renaissance of Europe.

Shri Nambiar: May I ask for some clarification from my hon. friend?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is no time for clarification.

श्री पी० ऐन० राजभोज: आज का जो दिन है, मैं समझता हूं कि खुशी का भी है और दुख का भी है । आज हमारा देश आजाद हो चुका है, लेकिन आजादी आ जाने के बाद भी हम लोगों की हालत अभी वही स्लेव्स (Slaves) जैसी है जैसी अमरीका में नीग्रो (Negro) गुलाम हैं, वैसे ही हमारी भी दशा हिन्दुस्तान में है । हमारे उत्थान के लिये बातें तो बहुत की जाती हैं, लेकिन अफ़सोस यह है कि उन को अमल में नहीं लाया जाता है । बकबक तो बहुत करते हैं कि हरिजनों के उद्धार के लिये यह हो रहा है और वह हो रहा है, लेकिन आज आप देखिये, देश में क्या हो रहा है । आज हम लोगों की हालत इस देश में कुत्ते और जानवर के समान है बल्कि में कहूंगा कि उन से भी ज्यादा खराब है ।

यह जो रिपोर्ट हमारे भाई श्रीकान्त जी ने हम लोगों के बारे में पेश की है, उस के बारे में मेरा यह निवेदन है कि उस रिपोर्ट से हमें कैसे संतोष हो सकता है, क्योंकि बच्चे को अपनी मां से तो कुछ दिलासा और संतोष मिल सकता है, लेकिन यहां तो परिस्थिति दूसरी है । यह रिपोर्ट पेश करने वाले भाई तो हमारे लिये सौतेली मां के समान हैं । श्रीकान्त जी अछूत जाति के नहीं हैं वह तो हिन्दू समाज के हैं और मेरी राय में जिस आदमी के दिल में स्वयं दर्द हो वही अच्छी तरह उस दर्द का अनुभव कर सकता है और बता सकता है, दूसरे समाज का आदमी उतनी अच्छी तरह नहीं बतला सकता है । आज आप ने श्री जगजीवन

[श्री पी० ऐन० राजभोज]

राम को क्यों लिया हुआ है और डाक्टर अम्बेडकर को क्यों नहीं रक्खा, वह दोनों शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट कम्युनिटी (Scheduled Caste Community) के हैं और उन के रिप्रेजेन्टेटिव (Representatives) हैं, सिर्फ़ फ़र्क़ यह है कि जगजीवन राम कांग्रेस में हैं। मैं आप को बतलाऊं कि मैं श्री जगजीवन राम के खिलाफ नहीं हूं क्योंकि उन्होंने भी काम किया है। लेकिन इस रिपोर्ट में जो बहुत सी बातें लिखी हुई हैं, मैं मानता हूं कि उन में कुछ अच्छी हैं, मसलन उस में गवर्नमेंट की नौकरी चाकरी में सहूलियत देने के बारे में रिपोर्ट में लिखा है, लेकिन वह अमल में नहीं लाते हैं। लेकिन इस के विरुद्ध हमारे कुरील भाई और बर्मन साहब कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट ने हरिजनों के लिये बहुत कुछ किया है। मैं उन को बतलाऊं कि हमारे भाई जगजीवन राम ने पटना में स्पीच देते हुये कहा था कि पहले बृटिश गवर्नमेंट के समय हरिजनों के लिये जितना अच्छा काम हो रहा था, उतना अच्छा आज नहीं हो रहा है। मेरे पास उन के भाषण को कटिंग मौजूद हैं और मैं उसे सबूत में पेश कर सकता हूं। पहले अंग्रेजी राज्य के जमाने में हमारे भाई डी० सी० और कलक्टरों के पास जाते थे तो सुनवाई होती थी, क्योंकि वह ज्यादातर अंग्रेज होते थे, लेकिन अब तो हमारे हिन्दू समाज के ही भाई डी० सी० बने हुये हैं, पान और तम्बाकू खाने वाले हैं, इसलिये हमारे भाई लोग बोलते हैं कि उनके पास चले चलो, लेकिन हमारी कोई बात नहीं मानी जाती है। नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि उल्टे हमारे ऊपर अत्याचार और जुल्म ज्यादा हो रहे हैं। और आज के दिन यह हो रहा है कि जो हरिजन सफेद टोपी पहिन कर उन अफ़सरों के पास जाता है, उस

1 P. M.

का तो काम बन जाता है, लेकिन अगर सफ़ेद टोपी न पहिने हुये हो तो उस को वह कहते हैं कि अरे तुम तो डाक्टर अम्बेडकर की पार्टी के हो कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के हो या सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के हो और उस का काम नहीं बनता है। हमारा नाम ब्लैक लिस्ट (black list) में रख दिया गया है और मुझे बड़ा खतरनाक आदमी समझा जाता है क्योंकि मैं अम्बेडकर पार्टी का सेक्रेटरी हूं, क्योंकि मैं अम्बेडकर पार्टी का सदस्य हूं, इसलिये मैं खतरनाक हूं। लेकिन इस के विरुद्ध अगर एक बुद्धू चौधरी है अगर वह खद्दर पहिनता है, चर्खा चलाता है और तकली फेरता है और गांधी का नाम लेता है, सफेद टोपी पहिनता है तो वह बहुत अच्छा आदमी माना जाता है, लेकिन वह हरिजन जो डाक्टर अम्बेडकर की पार्टी का है और उस के पीछे चलने वाला है, वह उन अफसरों की नज़र में बड़ा खतरनाक आदमी हो जाता है। तो आज हालत यह हो रही है। डाक्टर अम्बेडकर को दुश्मन और खराब आदमी समझा जाता है। उसी डाक्टर अम्बेडकर ने भारत का विधान बनाया और यह उसी के प्रयत्नों का फल है कि हम शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट वालों को रिजरवेशन (reservation) मिला,। यह हक़ उसी ने हमें दिलवाया है और इस के दिलवाने के लिये उस ने बहुत झगड़ा भी किया है। मेरा कहने का यह मतलब नहीं कि गांधी जी ने अछूतों के वास्ते कुछ नहीं किया, उन्होंने भी हमारे लिये कुछ काम किये हैं, लेकिन जो भाषण यहां पर अभी हुये हैं उन से तो मालूम होता है कि.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Are we now trying to establish the claims of the followers of Dr. Ambedkar for any special representation or going into

the rights and disabilities of the Scheduled Castes? We are not now fighting for leadership on the floor of the House here.

श्री पी० ऐन० राजभोज: डाक्टर अम्बेडकर तो हमारे नेता हैं, उन्होंने शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट वालों को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये हिन्दू लीडरों से हमेशा झगड़ा किया है, वह हमारी तरफ़ से लड़ते थे, आप ज्वाइंट ऐलेक्टोरेट (joint electorate) करना चाहते थे और उस को आप ने कर दिया और हमें समझाया कि ज्वाइंट एलेक्टोरेट से भला होगा, सिर्फ क़ाबिल आदमियों को हम चुनाव में खड़ा करेंगे और उन को स्थान देंगे, लेकिन हम ने देखा कि जब शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के हमारे डाक्टर अम्बेडकर चुनाव में खड़े हुये तो कांग्रेस ने अपनी सारी शक्ति खर्च कर के उन को चुनाव में गिराने की कोशिश की, क्या हरिजनों के प्रति आप के प्रेम भाव का यही सबूत है ? .....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. What is the good of referring to an individual case here? This is a report relating to all classes of Harijans, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes etc

श्री पी० ऐन० राजभोज: गांधी जी का नाम क्यों बार बार लेते हैं ?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is all irrelevant. He has not come here to fight the battle of Dr. Ambedkar's party or any other party.

श्री पी० ऐन० राजभोज : मैं ने तो गांधी जी का भी नाम लिया है, दूसरे लोग तो सिर्फ़ गांधी जी का ही नाम लेते हैं तारीफ़ करते हैं । डाक्टर अम्बेडकर का नाम तो मैं अवश्य लूंगा, क्योंकि वह शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट फ़ेडरेशन के नेता हैं और उन्होंने हम को रिजरवेशन दिलवाने के वास्ते बहुत झगड़ा किया है और यह विधान जिस के अनुसार आप आज देश पर शासन कर रहे हैं, यह भी उसी ने बनाया है ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may continue his speech after lunch.

The House then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The House re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

श्री पी० ऐन० राजभोज: मैं ने आज सवेरे कुछ बातें कहीं थीं और कुछ सुझाव भी दिये थे । इस सम्बन्ध में हाउस के मेम्बर साहबान से मेरी प्रार्थना है, कि कम से कम जो हमारे सिम्पैथाइजर्स (sympathisers) हैं और रोज कहते हैं कि हरिजनों का उद्धार होना चाहिये, शेड्यूल्ड कास्टस की उन्नति होनी चाहिये, शेडयूल्ड ट्राइब्स को आगे बढ़ना चाहिये, उन को उस पर सहानुभूति से विचार करना चाहिये ।

आज हमारा देश स्वतन्त्र हो गया, लेकिन अभी तक हम लोग परतंत्र हैं । हमारी जाति के लोगों पर आज तरह तरह के अत्याचार हो रहे हैं और जुल्म ढ़ाये जाते हैं । मैं इस के बारे में बहुत ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता क्योंकि समय बहुत कम है, आप जानते होंगे कि हमारे एक कांग्रेस के मेम्बर हैं, वह कांग्रेस के टिकट पर यहां चुन कर आये हैं, उन्होंने राजस्थान के बारे में वहां के मुख्य मंत्री को एक पत्र लिखा था । उस से मालूम होता है कि हम लोगों को क्या हालत है । हम ही लोग नहीं कह रहे हैं कि अत्याचार हो रहे हैं बल्कि कांग्रेस वाले भी ऐसा ही कह रहे हैं, वह हरिजन जो कांग्रेस के टिकट पर चुन कर यहां आये हैं वह अर्जी में लिखते हैं:

"हमारा देश स्वतन्त्र है । अतः इस का प्रत्येक नागरिक स्वतन्त्र है । यही हमारा संविधान बताता है । पर बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है कि यह नियम राजस्थान के हरिजनों पर लागू नहीं होता । यद्यपि भारतीय संविधान में भारतीय नागरिक को समान मूलभूत अधिकार और सबों की समान सुविधायें न्याय प्राप्ति, पद प्राप्त करने

[श्री पी० ऐन० राजभोज]

आदि का नियम रक्खा गया है, तथापि अभी तक इस का जीवन में कोई खास प्रभाव नहीं पड़ा है। आज भी शहरों में कुछ कम, परन्तु गांवों में पूर्वतया पहले सी स्थिति है। अब भी हरिजनों से गांवों में सवर्णों द्वारा जबरन बेगार ली जाती है, उन पर होने वाले अत्याचारों के निम्न उदाहरण हैं:

(१) मृत पशु इच्छा के विरुद्ध विवश किये जा कर घसिटवाये जाते हैं। अगर वे सवर्णों की इच्छा के अनुसार नहीं चलते हैं तो गांवों से उन की दया से प्राप्त होने वाला पानी भी बन्द कर दिया जाता है। आर्थिक हालत खराब होने के कारण हरिजन अपने निजी कुंएं नहीं बनवा सकते। फलस्वरूप पानी के लिये उन्हें गांव गांव भटकना पड़ता है। अनेक स्थानों पर उन्हें नाली का पानी इस्तेमाल करना पड़ता है जिस से रोगों में वृद्धि होती है। कई गांवों में सवर्ण लोग कुओं को फोस बढ़ा देते हैं जो कि वे देने में असमर्थ हैं। लेकिन इतने में भी उन का हृदय ठंडा नहीं होता है।

(२) वे हरिजनों को खेतों से बेदखल कर देते हैं और काश्त करने के लिये भूमि नहीं देते हैं।

(३) जंगल से घास और लकड़ी नहीं लाने देते हैं।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What is the hon. Member reading from?

श्री पी० ऐन० राजभोज : यह तो मैं इम्पार्टेन्ट पोर्शन पढ़ रहा हूं। जंगल से घास और लकड़ी नहीं लाने देते हैं। उन के पशुओं को भी जंगल में नहीं चरने देते हैं। अगर उन के पशु जंगलों में जाते हैं तो चोरों के साथ मिल कर चुरा लेते हैं, और हरिजनों को मारते पीटते हैं और गांवों से निकाल देते हैं। गांवों में आज भी मेघवाल हरिजनों की स्त्रियों को जेवर नहीं पहनने देते हैं। ज्यादा क्या कहें गांव का जागीरदार मर जाता है तो उस के पीछे हरिजन स्त्री को चूड़ियां फोड़नी पड़ती थीं।

(४) हरिजनों के विवाह के समय हरिजन दूल्हा घोड़ी या ऊंट पर चढ़ कर गांव के बीच से नहीं गुजर सकता है और ढोल बाजे नहीं बज सकते हैं। अगर बजते हैं तो अनेक प्रकार का अन्याय और अत्याचार करते हैं।

(५) गांवों में ही नहीं, बल्कि आज शहरों में भी हरिजन मंदिरों में नहीं जा सकते हैं। वे कुंओं से पानी नहीं भर सकते हैं। होटलों में प्रवेश नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसी प्रकार अब भी शहरों में प्याउओं में नल से हरिजनों को पानी पिलाते हैं। बेचारे हरिजनों को जगह जगह अपमानित होना पड़ता है। सदियों से वैसी स्थिति में रहने के कारण हरिजनों का स्वाभिमान नष्ट हो गया है। वे मृतप्राय हुये हैं। आज इस स्वतन्त्र भारत में हरिजन अपना नारकीय जीवन व्यतीत कर रहे हैं। वे रोजगार न मिलने के कारण बेकारी और भुखमरी के शिकार बने हुये हैं। अच्छा खाना, अच्छा पहनना, अच्छा मकान और स्वास्थ्य व शिक्षा से वे सदियों से वंचित रहे हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं पूछना चाहता हूं अभी मेरा टाइम कितना बाक़ी है । घंटी तो बज रही है ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय: आप पांच मिनट तो पहले बोले, छः मिनट अभी बोले, बस एक ही मिनट और बाक़ी है ।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज: तो मैं ने जो कई प्रकार की हमारे दुःखों की कहानी है वह यहां पर कही । और हरिजनों के उद्धार के लिये मैं चाहता हूं कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट को और अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिये । मैं ने उन की आर्थिक स्थिति के बारे में भी कुछ सुझाव दिये हैं । वह सब अंगरेजी में हैं, और मैं ने उन का हिन्दी में भी तर्जुमा किया है । लेकिन समय बहुत कम है इसलिये मैं उन्हें जल्दी में पढ़ कर आप के सामने नहीं रख सकता ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let him not be interrupted. He has noted down certain points. I know the whole thing, but I have to divide the time for the various Members.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज: मैं खत्म कर रहा हूं । लेकिन यह बहुत इम्पार्टेंट सवाल है ।

मैं ने स्कालरशिप के बारे में, आर्थिक सवालों के बारे में और नौकरियों के बारे में कहा । मैं इस के लिये कहना चाहता हूं कि दो डिप्टी कमिश्नर होने चाहियें और हमारे शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के भाइयों के लिये एक अलग मिनिस्ट्री होनी चाहिये । तभी हम लोगों का उद्धार होगा । और इसलिये जहां हमारे ग़रीब अछूत लोगों पर अत्याचार होते हैं, जुल्म होते हैं वहां गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से फ्री लीगल एड (Free legal aid) मिलनी चाहिये ।

इसी तरह से जैसे आप मिलिटरी के लिये दूसरी जातियों को मार्शल रेस (martial race) करार देते हैं, उसी तरह से हमारी जातियों की ज्यादा से ज्यादा सहायता करनी चाहिये । क्योंकि आज कल हरिजनों की हालत बहुत खराब है, और इस सवाल को जल्द से जल्द हल करना चाहिये । आप देखेंगे कि उन के कष्ट दिनों दिन बढ़ते ही जा रहे हैं । अगर आप लोग इन जुल्मों और अत्याचारों क नष्ट नहीं करेंगे तो मैं समझता हूं कि हरिजनों का जो उद्धार होना चाहिये वह नहीं होगा । हमारे देश को सब दृष्टियों से आगे बढ़ना चाहिये । हरिजनों की गुलामी का सवाल जल्दी से जल्दी खत्म होना चाहिये । दूसरे देशों के लोग हमारे यहां आते हैं और यहां की हालत देख कर कहते हैं कि अभी तक छुआ छूत इस देश में है । इस अत्याचार को नष्ट करने के लिये जो भी देशप्रेमी हैं उन को आवाज उठानी चाहिये । इस हाउस में भी कई पार्टियों के लोग हैं, मैं उन से भी प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूं कि यह जो सवाल है वह सारे देश का सवाल है, मुझे दुःख है कि पंडित नेहरू इस के बारे में कभी कुछ नहीं कहते हैं । प्राइम मिनिस्टर के ऊपर बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है । देश के सब लोगों को इस बारे में आगे बढ़ना चाहिये । प्लेनिंग कमीशन (Planning Commission) की रिपोर्ट में हम लोगों के लिये सिर्फ ३७ करोड़ रुपया ही रक्खा गया है । इतने कम धन से क्या होने वाला है । इस काम के लिये ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैसा देना चाहिये ।

शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और बैकवर्ड क्लास कमीशन में भी हरिजनों के ठीक रिप्रेजेन्टेटिव आने चाहियें जो कि हम लोगों का कान्फिडेन्स (Confidence) पा सकें । जब तक अपोजीशन के मेम्बरों की सलाह से काम नहीं किया जायगा और उन को विश्वास में नहीं लेंगे और सिर्फ़ अपने पिट्ठुओं के विचारों से ही काम करेंगे उस

[श्री पी० ऐन० राजभोज]

वक्त तक मेरा ख्याल है कि हमारे अछूत भाइयों का और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स का जो सवाल है वह कभी हल नहीं होगा। इसलिये मैं सब लोगों से अपील करना चाहता हूं कि सरकारी नौकरी के बारे में अभी तक उन के लिये कुछ नहीं किया गया है। जो लोग समय की स्पिरट को पहिचानते हैं वह खास कर देखें कि पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन में उन पर कितना अन्याय होता है। मेरा मंशा पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन के खिलाफ़ बोलने का नहीं है, मगर जब पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन में मुसलमान हैं, दूसरी जाति के लोग हैं, तो हरिजनों को क्यों नहीं लिया जाता है ? जब तक हम लोगों को न्य नहीं मिलता है तब तक इस देश के अछूत अपनी उन्नति के लिये आवाज उठायेंगे, लड़ेंगे, झगड़ेंगे. लेकिन जब तक हम लोग गुलाम हैं तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकता है। कुछ मेम्बर साहबान हंसते हैं, यह हमारे लिये शर्म की बात है कि जब हम लोग गुलाम हैं, सब लोग हमारी उन्नति के लिये बातें करते हैं लेकिन उस को अमल में कोई नहीं लाता है। हमारे जगजीवन राम जी ने रांची में और पटना में इस के लिये आवाज उठाई है। मैं भी कहता हूं कि उन के ऊपर जो अत्याचार और जुल्म हो रहे हैं और नौकरी के बारे में जो तकलीफ़ उन को है उस के लिये मैं पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन से अपील करता हूं कि उन्हें हम लोगों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा सहूलियत देनी चाहिये।

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (Calcutta South-East): If I may submit, Sir, with all humility, of course hon. Members belonging to the Scheduled Castes and representing special interests must speak, but this is not a matter entirely confined only to Scheduled Castes and such other interests. It affects the general interests of the country. Some of us would like to say a few words associating ourselves with the main objective of Government policy.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Very well.

Shri Jangde (Bilaspur—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Two days should be allotted.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : हम लोग कभी कभी होम मिनिस्टर के डिपार्टमेंट की क्रिटिसाइज (Criticise) करते हैं, लेकिन हम को कोई उन से दुश्मनी नहीं है। मैं तो उन को अच्छी तरह से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यह तो नैशनल प्राबलम (National problem) है, यह किसी एक जाति का प्राबलम नहीं है। हम लोग तो जाति वाद को मानने वाले नहीं हैं और जाति वाद का कोई काम नहीं करना चाहते हैं। हम तो चाहते ह कि जातिवाद नष्ट होना चाहिये। अभी मेरे कई मित्र बोलना चाहते हैं। इसलिये मैं केवल यही कहना चाहता हूं कि जो बातें मैं ने हाउस के सामने रखी हैं उन पर अमल किया जाय और मुझे उम्मीद है कि उन पर अमल किया जायगा।

मेरे पास बहुत से जुल्मों और अत्याचारों का मसाला था लेकिन टाइम नहीं है और दूसरे भाई भी बोलने वाले हैं इसलिये मैं हाउस से यह प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूं कि जो जो सवाल मैं ने हाउस के सामने रखे हैं उन को आगे बढ़ाया जाय। इसी में देश का भी भला है और हम लोगों का भी भला है।

श्री खरोलकर (बम्ब ईशहर—उत्तर—रक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियां) : शिड्यल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यल्ड ट्राइब्स कमिश्नर श्री श्रीकान्त की रिपोर्ट सभागृह के सामने आई है, उस का मैं स्वागत करता हूं। लेकिन साथ ही साथ ऐसा न माना जाय कि इस रिपोर्ट के अन्दर जितनी बातें लिखी हैं उन सब से मैं सहमत हूं।

हम को स्वराज्य मिला है । हरिजनों के लिये महात्मा गांधी ने जितना कार्य किया है उतना भारतवर्ष में किसी ने नहीं किया है । मेरे मित्र राजभोज ने बाबा साहब का नाम लिया है । बाबा साहब ने भी हम हरिजन लोगों के लिये बहुत काम किया है लेकिन महात्मा जी ने जितना कार्य किया है उतना कार्य किसी ने नहीं किया है ।

Shri Rajabhoj: Dr. Ambedkar has done more.

श्री कजरोलकर: टाइम बहुत कम है, इसलिये मैं पहले सूचना आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूं । सेंटर में शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट, शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिये एक मिनिस्ट्री होनी चाहिये । मैं जानता हूं कि हमारे होम मिनिस्टर इस डिपार्टमेंट को देखते हैं । लेकिन उन के पास इतना बड़ा काम है कि उन को शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट, शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और बैकवर्ड क्लासेज का काम देखने के लिये पूरा टाइम नहीं मिलता है । शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स का मामला कुछ छोटा नहीं है । कम से कम पांच करोड़ लोग हैं जिन के जीवन मरण का यह प्रश्न है ।

Shri B. S. Murthy: Ten crores.

श्री कजरोलकर : संविधान में हमारे शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिये दस साल की सुविधा दी है लेकिन इस दस साल के अन्दर हम को ज्यादा से से ज्यादा कार्य करना है । इसलिये इसके लिये सेंटर में एक मिनिस्टरी होनी चाहिये ।

दूसरी बात यह है कि गवर्नमेंट जो क़ानून बनाती है स्टेट्स में उस पर बराबर अमल नहीं होता है । यह देखने के लिये सेंटर में एक बैकवर्ड क्लासेज बोर्ड होना चाहिये । आप को मालूम होगा कि कुछ स्टेट्स में जैसे बम्बई और मद्रास में एक बैकवर्ड क्लासेज बोर्ड है और जो स्टेट का हरिजन मिनिस्टर है वह उस बोर्ड का चेयरमैन होता है । इस बोर्ड का यह काम होना चाहिये कि वह स्टेट्स में देखे कि उन लोगों की क्या क्या मुसीबतें हैं । इसके लिये सेंटर में भी एक बैकवर्ड क्लासेज बोर्ड होना चाहिये ।

बहुत से स्टेट्स में सोशल डिसएबिलिटीज ऐक्ट (Social Disabilities Act) पास हुआ है पर बहुत से स्टेट में नहीं हुआ है । और जहां यह पास हुआ भी है वहां उस पर पूरा अमल नहीं होता है । अभी भी बहुत सी जगहों में हरिजनों को कुंओं पर पानी नहीं मिलता है । आप जानते होंगे कि "हरिजन दिन" के दिन उन को पानी भरने दिया जाता है लेकिन अगर दो दिन बाद कोई हरिजन पानी लेने जाता है तो उस को मार खानी पड़ती है । इस पर अमल ज्यादा से ज्यादा होना चाहिये । वह कागनिज़ेबिल आफेंस (Cognizable Offence) होना चाहिये ।

जहां तक हमारी शिक्षा का सवाल है उस के लिये हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री और अर्थ मंत्री श्री चिन्तामणि देशमुख जी ने हमारी शिक्षा के शिये स्कालरशिप ग्रांट को इस बरस दुगना कर दिया है । इस के लिये मैं उन को धन्यवाद देता हूं । लेकिन यह जो तीस लाख रुपया दिया है यह शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स, शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और बैकवर्ड क्लासेज इन तीन जातियों के लिये बहुत कम है । तो यह बढ़ाया जाना चाहिये ।

चौथी बात फारिन स्कालरशिप्स (foreign scholarships) के बारे में है । चार पांच वर्ष पहले हरिजन छात्रों को स्कालरशिप मिलती थी लेकिन कम नसीबी से एक दो छोकरों के फेल होने से यह फारिन स्कालरशिप बन्द कर दिया गया । उस दिन हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब

[श्री कजरोलकर]

ने कहा कि एक छात्र के ऊपर खर्च करने के बदले पांच छात्रों को यहां पांच हजार रुपयों में शिक्षा दी जा सकती है। दूसरे छात्रों को फारिन और टैकनिकल (technical) शिक्षा देना चाहते हैं क्योंकि उन में योग्यता आवे। इस के लिये हमारे हरिजन विद्यार्थियों में भी योग्यता आने के लिये सहायता देना चाहिये। मैं यह नहीं मांगता कि उन के लिये कोई परीक्षा न रखी जाय। हमारा कहना यही है कि जो क्वालीफाइड (qualified) विद्यार्थी हो उसी को चुना जाय।

हरिजनों के मकानों के बारे में आप जानते हैं कि वह जमींदारों की जगह में रहते हैं। अगर वह जमींदार का काम नहीं करते हैं तो जमींदार गुस्सा होता है और उस को निकालता है। गवर्नमेंट को यह करना चाहिये कि जितने शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स जिस झोंपड़े में रहते हैं उन के घर के और खेती के लिये उन की मालकी की जमीन देनी चाहिये।

धन्धों के बारे में हमारे हरिजनों के लिये बड़ी मुसीबत है। अस्पृश्यता के कारण बहुत से धन्धे तो वह कर नहीं सकते, जैसे आटे की दूकान, चावल की दूकान या कपड़े की दूकान। और भी बहुत सी चीजों के धन्धे वह नहीं कर सकते हैं। हरिजनों का चमड़े का धन्धा था वह भी आज हमारे हाथ से निकला जा रहा है। बड़े बड़े मालदार लोगों ने अपने कारखाने बना दिये हैं और थोड़े से मालदार आदमी मशीन लगा कर हजारों आदमी का काम कर लेते हैं। इस तरह हमारे हरिजनों के धन्धों पर मुसीबत आई हुई है। मैं चाहता हूं कि जैसे सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने खादी और ग्रामोद्योग को संरक्षण दिया है वैसे ही इस को भी संरक्षण दिया जाय।

कुंओं के बारे में आप देखें, गवर्नमेंट ने कानून तो पास कर दिया है कि सभी जाति के लोग कुंओं के ऊपर पानी पी सकते हैं, लेकिन मैं आपको बतलाऊं कि हरिजनों को बहुत दिक्कतें पेश आती हैं और खास करके हमारे वह हरिजन भाई जो गांव से दो चार फर्लांग के फासले पर बाहर बसते हैं उन को पानी लेने में बहुत दिक्कत होती है सरकार ने अपनी पंच वर्षीय योजना में पानी के लिये जो पैसा रक्खा है, उस में हरिजनों के लिये भी है, लेकिन बस्ती के अन्दर पानी का इन्तजाम किया जाय, उस से उन की बहुत दिक्कतें कम हो जायंगी। आप जानते हैं कि हमारी आर्थिक और सामाजिक दशा कितनी शोचनीय है। हरिजनों का सरकारी नौकरियों में सरकार ने अनुपात साढ़े बारह फ़ी सदी और १६ सही दो बटा तीन फी सदी रक्खा है, लेकिन उन पर अमल बहुत ही कम होता है उस को पूरा करना चाहिये। जब भी हमारी तरफ से आवाज उठाई जाती है कि हमें सरकारी नौकरियां में और पूरा स्थान मिले, तब एफीसियेंशी (Efficiency) का बहाना पेश किया जाता है। मैं उन को बतलाना चाहता हूं कि हमारे बच्चों को सवर्ण जाति के बच्चों के समा सुविधायें और सहूलियतें नहीं मिलती हैं, क्योंकि हरिजन बच्चों के परिवार के बड़े बूढ़े मां, बाप इत्यादि अनपढ़े होते हैं और इसलिये उन को बाल्यकाल में घर पर कोई शिक्षा नहीं मिल पाती है, जब कि सवर्ण जाति वालों में बच्चों को उन के मां, बाप द्वारा घर पर ही ५० प्रति शत प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा मिल जाती है। इस के लिये मेरा यह सुझाव है कि फिलहाल वर्तमान काल में उन के साथ परीक्षाओं में जिन में वे बैठते हैं, नम्बरों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ रिआयत की जाय, जैसे अगर दूसरी कम्युनिटीज के लिये आप

ने ४० नम्बर रक्खे हैं तो हमारे हरिजन भाइयों के लिये तीस नम्बर रक्खे जायें, लेकिन मैं ऐसा नहीं बोलता कि जो नालायक और नाक़ाबिल हों, उन को आप लें ।

मिलिटरी में हरिजनों की भरती के सम्बन्ध में मेरे दो मित्रों ने सुझाव दिया है कि शेडयूल्ड कास्ट की एक अलग मिलिटरी हो । मैं उस सुझाव के साथ सहमत नहीं हूं । क्योंकि हम तो शेष सारी जातियों के साथ कन्धा से कन्धा मिला कर एक साथ आगे चलना चाहते हैं और हम अस्पृश्यता को बिल्कुल इस देश से निकालना चाहते हैं ।

Shri P. L. Kureel: I would like to correct the hon. Member. I did not say that there should be a separate Army or a separate battalion or regiment for the Scheduled Castes. All that I said was that they must have fair representation in the Army; they must be recruited in the combatant forces of the Army. They are at present taken only as *mochis, dhobis, kahars* and water carriers. After the resolution of 1943 moved in the Central Assembly and which was accepted, the Scheduled Castes were admitted to the combatant ranks and they were appointed as officers, in the Commissioned ranks. This, I said, should continue.

श्री कजरोलकर: मेरा कहना यह था कि हरिजनों के लिये कोई अलग बटालियन नहीं होनी चाहिये ।

हमारी बहुत सी प्रान्तीय सरकारों ने मसलन बम्बई, मद्रास और उत्तर प्रदेश ने, शिक्षा में प्रगति की है और इस दिशा में वह प्रयत्नशील हैं और काम कर रही हैं । आज सवेरे हमारे होम मिनिस्टर डा० काटजू ने कहा कि इस दिशा में प्राइवेट एजेंसीज (Private Agencies) अगर काम करें, तो ज्यादा सफलता हो सकती है । मैं उन के इस विचार के साथ सहमत हूं, लेकिन इस कार्य के लिये समाज सेवियों में वह उत्साह और जोश भी तो पैदा होना चाहिये जो हरिजन उद्धार के हेतु महात्मा गांधी ने दिखाया । उन्होंने तो हरिजन उद्धार के लिये अपना जीवन ही समर्पण कर दिया और आप जानते हैं कि पूना पैक्ट (Poona Pact) के बाद उन्होंने हरिजनों के उद्धार के लिये हरिजन सेवक संघ की स्थापना की । महात्मा गांधी हरिजनों की शिक्षा और सामाजिक उन्नति के लिये घर घर पैसा जमा करते फिरते थे । हरिजन सेवक संघ के स्वयंसेवक आ कर पैसा जमा करते थे और तब उन के उद्धार के हेतु कार्य होता था । लेकिन अब तो स्थिति बिल्कुल बदल गयी है । उस समय तो इस काम के लिये उन के पास लाखों रुपया जमा होता था, आज हरिजन सेवक संघ की स्थिति बहुत निराशाजनक है, उस के पास पूरा फंड नहीं है और अब जब वह लोगों के पास जाते हैं तो वह कहते हैं कि यह तो सरकार का काम है, हम क्या करें । मुझे ऐसे अवसर पर मराठी की वह कहावत याद आ जाती है :

आई जेवू घालीना,

बाप भीक मागू देईना ।

मां खाने को नहीं देती है और बाप भीख मांगने नहीं देता है, आज हमारी ऐसी स्थिति हो गयी है । इस के लिये मैं प्रार्थना करता हूं कि हरिजनों, शेडयूल्ड ट्राइब्स और बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिये जितनी भी नान आफिशियल एजेंसीज हैं जैसे हरिजन सेवक संघ इत्यादि, उन के लिये सरकार द्वारा कुछ ग्रान्ट (grant) स्वीकृत की जाय जिस से वह अपना काम ठीक तरह से कर सकें ।

हम हरिजनों के लिये स्वर्गीय सरदार पटेल ने बहुत ही कार्य किया है. मैं जानता हूं कि जब विधान बन रहा था और हरिजनों को दस वर्ष की सुविधा देने की बात चल

[श्री कजरोलकर]

रही थी तब सरदार पटेल ने उस बहस में बहुत दिलचस्पी ली थी और यह उन्हीं की कोशिश और दिलचस्पी का नतीजा है जो हमें यह दस वर्ष की अवधि भारतीय संविधान में मिली हुई है। मैं आप के सामने सरदार पटेल का वह मेसेज (message) जो उन्होंने कुछ समय हुआ दिल्ली में हुई एक हरिजन कान्फ्रेंस के अवसर पर दिया था, पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूं :

"It has been my earnest endeavour to remove the blot of untouchability as expeditiously as possible and in that I am only trying to follow the great Master, who first showed us a practical way to solve this great problem, affecting the Hindu society.....It shall now be my sincere effort to promote the well-being of the Harijans in order that they may soon attain a level of equality with other citizens of this great country. ...I realise that this is a tremendous task, in which, we have to make up the leeway of centuries, in the course of some years; but that has got to be achieved, even if it costs us herculean efforts and none can contribute to the success of those efforts more than my Harijan friends."

अब सरदार पटेल की जगह हमारे डाक्टर काटजू हैं और होम मिनिस्टरी उन के मातहत है और मैं उन से प्रार्थना करता हूं कि वह हमारे उत्थान के लिये सहानुभूति से विचार करेंगे और प्रयत्न करेंगे। कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट में शुरू में इस प्रकार लिखा हुआ है कि अगर :

"There is every hope of reaching the target envisaged in the Constitution that within ten years the backward classes can be brought in line with others, if the people including Government officials, big or small, gird up their loins in discharging their duties towards them and helping them in all ways possible to vindicate their legal and constitutional rights."

आखिर में मुझे सिर्फ इतना ही कहना है कि जब तक गवर्नमेंट आफिशियल्स हरिजनों की तरफ सिम्पथी (Sympathy) नहीं दिखायेंगे, तब तक व्यर्थ है और जितने भी कानून सरकार बनाये बेकार हैं।

Shri Velayudhan: I am glad to speak on this occasion offered to me, on the problem of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and I thank the Leader of the House as well the Home Minister for rendering all of us an opportunity to think and then to speak on a problem the potentialities of which, I think, the people of the country have not realised much. When I speak of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, one feeling that passes through my mind is that India is not new to the amelioration and uplift of the Scheduled Castes or the suppressed millions. We have had plenty of traditions in the field. When we look at the pages of our ancient history, and when Buddha ruled over millions of people by his moral force, we find that there was a time when a virulent battle against the order of society that existed at that time, especially against the demon of untouchability was launched throughout the country. Again and again, generation after generation, great men have come and gone in India, men like Chaitanya and Ramanuja who effected revolution after revolution on the question of Caste and untouchables. When we come to recent history, we come to the era of Mahatma Gandhi. Of course, I have got a little personal feeling when I speak of the movement launched by Gandhiji from 1922 till his death. His movement for removal of untouchability was the biggest movement ever launched against the Himalayan rock of Hindu society, its superstitions and its social maladies. I do not say that he achieved complete success. He would not have become a martyr against communalism and casteism if he had succeeded in his mission.

3 P. M.

If anybody in this House looks at the services rendered by Gandhiji with derision or jeers, then I think that individual has no place not only in this House but even in this country. In the morning, I heard somebody addressing Gandhiji as "Mr. Gandhi" and speaking about him with a feeling of derision or jeer. Let me pose one question not only to this House but to the

whole country: Will this kind of unbecoming attitude be allowed in any other country? Take Soviet Russia. Will anybody be allowed to talk in these terms about Lenin or Tolstoy there? Go to China. Will anybody be allowed to say a word against Sun Yat Sen? If he does, he would be liquidated then and there. I say that nobody in this country can afford to talk about Gandhiji with derision either as far as the Scheduled Castes question is concerned or even about any other question.

A lot of things were said in this House regarding the Scheduled Castes problem. In my humble opinion, the country has not yet realised the importance and the potentialities of the Harijans as a social force, as an economic force (*Interruption*).

Shri Veeraswamy: On a point of order, Sir. The hon. Member refers to the Scheduled Castes as "Harijans". I object to it. I protest against it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. There is no point of order in this. There are also Harijans among the Scheduled Castes.

Shri Veeraswamy: No, Sir. The term has not been recognised either by the people concerned or by the Constitution. Why should he use it on the floor of the House?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The word "Harijan" is new to the hon. Member? Is it? Possibly he was born after the word was used. I cannot allow such exceptions to be taken. "Harijan" is an ordinary word that has been in use for a long time.

Shri Veeraswamy: Why should a term be used which is not recognised?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I will not allow him to speak. Order, order. The Scheduled Castes people are generally known as Harijans. He will kindly resume his seat.

Shri Veeraswamy: Why should the caste Hindus call them by that name?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. I will not allow this hon. Member to go on interrupting like this.

Shri Veeraswamy: I do not wish to interrupt, but.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I know. He ought to resume his seat.

Shri Velayudhan: May I proceed, Sir?

Shrimati Khongmen: On a point of information. May I know the meaning of the word "Harijan"?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is nothing new in this word. Hon. Members already know what it means. The hon. Member may proceed.

Shri Velayudhan: It is not with any particular motive that I used this word here, but I have my personal feeling on this subject. I think that the entire country will join with me when I say that it is the Father of the Nation, Gandhiji, who has done more work and laboured harder for the Scheduled Castes than anybody else in India. You will know it if you read past history. I had some personal touch with Gandhiji and, therefore, I am rather moved when I speak on this question. He wanted to lift the Harijans to the level of the other caste Hindus. That is why he gave particular interpretation. When he discussed this particular name with Dr Ambedkar and other Scheduled Caste leaders, he never emphasised that we must accept this name which he had given to the Scheduled Castes as such. Of course, now we have got independence and we live in a different atmosphere. Gandhiji has gone. I do not say that Gandhiji has done everything for the Scheduled Castes. I do not say that he has succeeded. It is not that. We are where we are because we all failed. We could not follow his standard and we could not do things as mehtodically as he did. We are all responsible for the country's present plight.

There is no need for any of us to say that 'Malanism' is prevalent in India, as it is prevalent in South Africa today. Certainly, the castes are there. This problem cannot be rooted out immediately. Unless and until the castes are removed, I do not think the Scheduled Castes problem can be removed. Even Mahatmaji has said so, not once but several times in the course of his articles in the Harijan. He has clearly said that unless and until the caste system is done away with, the Scheduled Castes problem will remain. It will not disappear. Of course, there are many political parties in the country and almost all the parties are trying to exploit the Harijans. I know it. But let me tell you one thing. There is an economic import to the Scheduled Castes problem. There is a great potentiality in that problem. I request the Leader and the other Members of the House to think of this and properly understand the importance of this problem and at the same time try to solve it at a socio-economic level. I do not think it is an economic problem alone. Some people say that an economic revolution will solve this problem of the Scheduled Castes. I am not at all in agreement with them. Of

[Shri Velayudhan]

course, the porblem is economic also; but it may be a right slogan for Europe, it may be a right slogan for some of the western countries. But in India the tradition is different. The social system is today based on castes and communities. Therefore, when we try to solve this problem in India, we cannot say that only an economic revolution will solve it. I have got my own fears of an economic revolution taking shape on western lines in India. Such an economic revolution will be only led by the upper classes and will lead to only an upper class leadership in the country. The Scheduled Castes will remain as slaves even if an economic revolution takes place in the country and the leadership will go to the higher classes in the country.

Take, for example, the Communist Party, or the Socialist Party, or the Congress Party—all trying for a new social order in India. During the time of the General Elections, 99 per cent. of the Scheduled Castes in South India voted for the United Front of Leftists, but where is the leadership there? There is a *namboodari* or a Nair as the leader of the party which succeeded due to our support alone. In Travancore-Cochin, when they talk of the Communist Party, they say it is *namboodari* Communism; it is Nair Communism; it is Menon Communism and so on. There is a middle class leadership in all the political parties of the country. The Congress itself is a middle class leadership. Even the Communist Party has a middle class leadership. Look at leaders, like Hiren Mukerjee or Shri Gopalan and all these people on the right side. I am not speaking as a communalist or a Communist. But I tell you, 99 per cent. of the Scheduled Castes and the backward classes in Travancore-Cochin voted for a particular party there, but then they were not able to take the leadership of that party. People say that it is a proletariat movement. It is not a proletariat movement. In the name of proletariat movement, certain classes come into power. I wish that the middle class leadership in the country convert the present state of things and bring about a kind of socialistic order. That sort of hope in proletariat leadership may be right in Europe, but in India it is not right. It is not practicable, because you have the castes. The middle class leadership in India will be only a caste or communal leadership. This is my fear. I am posing this question to all the political parties here. My point is that only a socio-economic revolution in the country can change the system in India. It is that kind of revolution that we want.

Now, we have got the Five Year Plan. If you work out this Plan properly and if all the individuals in the country cooperate with determination, we can bring about a change. It is my humble opinion that this problem of the Scheduled Castes should be taken as an important factor when the Five Year Plan is being worked out. There is no use of giving mere safeguards in the Constitution. I do not want to have anything to do with the safeguards. I am not much interested in offices either. I am not much interested in adding another 100 Members or another ten Ministers to Scheduled Castes. My mind works in a different direction. But there are millions of people all over India who are starving, who are the underdogs of this country, who have nothing to eat, who are exploited, who are the real untouchables and the real Scheduled Castes. How can they be helped? That is the real problem. It is, I again say, not a question of adding some Commissioners or some Deputy Commissioners. It is not a question of adding some Ministers or Deputy Ministers. I request that the problem is one for the Harijan Members of this House to take up. It is their responsibility more than that of the upper classes, because the upper classes cannot really understand the intricacies of the problem. It was difficult even for Gandhiji to fully understand this problem. In 1940 when I went to Sevagram, Gandhiji was agitated about the Harijan question. He was having much agony. I asked him a question—at that time Dr. Ambedkar was criticising him—and my question was this: What is the reason for the mass of the educated classes among the Scheduled Castes becoming revolutionaries, becoming radical thinkers? Gandhiji said, "That is exactly what I want". This is what he said. He wanted the Scheduled Castes to be a progressive community. He wanted a kind of revolt among the Scheduled Castes. It is that that we require and the representatives of the Scheduled Castes here and outside in the country have a great responsibility to discharge.

To conclude, in a nut shell, this is what I want to say. The fact about Harijans is that they have not developed any definite political outlook or ideology. About 90 per cent. of them are illiterate and ignorant. The educated are only a microscopic minority. It is this minority that speaks

today for the community. Except Dr. Ambedkar, there is no other outstanding leader in the community. Those who are holding responsibilities in the Government have only just begun to take interest in public life. The Harijans should clearly understand their political and social position. In spite of their disabilities, they have got the brightest future. The future is that the underdogs, who are the Harijans in this country, will rise to their full stature with the removal of untouchability. The social disabilities will certainly disappear. But what about the other disabilities? Only a change in the socio-economic structure of the society will bring us emancipation. Who can bring this emancipation or change in the country? It can only be done by a national organisation of a revolutionary character. Any change in the socio-economic structure can be brought about only by an organisation of that kind. That is my view regarding the Harijan problem—the problem of the underdogs. It is not a communal problem; it is not a simple problem. It is a problem interlinked with the problems affecting millions in our country. That is how the leaders of the Scheduled Castes should look at this problem. There are difficulties in the way. But I do not believe that an effort purely on the economic front would solve this problem. Only a socio-economic revolution would solve the Harijan problem.

Shri Jaipal Singh: Before I proceed to say a few words about what my venerable Minister friend has said, I would like to draw the attention of the House to something that is very unfortunate which has happened in one of the speeches this morning. I do not think my hon. friend Mr Murthy in whatever he said desired to belittle this country. He spoke of "Malanism" in this country. If I have your permission, I would like to request you that he be given an opportunity to clarify what he exactly meant because I know for a fact that he would like to clear his position.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What is the use in giving him an opportunity? The hon. Member may understand the word as he likes.

Shri B. S. Murthy: Sir, when I began my speech, I said today is a significant day, because today India is observing "South Africa" day. I said that this day and these meetings are intended to root out "Malanism" and any traces of "Malanism" wherever it is found should be rooted out lock, stock and barrel.

I know this is India. I know no Indian will ever tolerate any sort of "Malanism". I am as much a patriot as any other hon. Member of this House. My only point was that India should lead the other countries in its social structure as far as possible. I am one of those who hate "Malanism" and it should be wiped out lock, stock and barrel.

Shri Jaipal Singh: I am glad Mr. Murthy has somewhat tried to clear the position. I only wanted to raise this point because people who live in glass houses should not throw stones at others. We have complained against Belgium, South Africa and various other countries about certain things and if a responsible Member of Parliament on the floor of the House makes certain statements, that is bound to be repeated elsewhere and India blackguarded. I only wanted that the integrity and definition of purpose of this country should in no way be misunderstood elsewhere.

I regret I find it very difficult indeed to feel, enthused over this report. Apart from thanking the Government for setting apart a meagre day, one day only, to discuss this report, I have nothing more to say by way of congratulating the Government. The introductory speech of the venerable Minister is proof in itself of the lack of seriousness of the gravity of this problem. There are empty Treasury Benches. Is that how the Treasury Benches receive this very very important subject? I know there will be the 'Hansards', the reported materials, that they will read and perhaps in their own time try to digest. But, surely, those of us who are inarticulate most of the time in this House deserve a little more consideration from the Treasury Benches than we are getting either this morning or this afternoon. The Treasury Benches must have *en masse* to listen to the difficult voice of the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, the backward classes and others who might be interested in the problem of the depressed section of our community.

I know it for a fact that there is no greater friend in this country today of the minorities and the group we are discussing to day are a minority, but a very important minority—some have been neglected for a century, others have been neglected always, for thousands of years. There is one person about whom I would like to say a few words. I am not at all concerned with what the Special Officer has written. But there is one propaganda officer,

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a natural one, who has been saying things from his heart, whenever he has had opportunities of visiting the tribal areas, who deserves the thanks not of mine only, but of the many tribal millions and the depressed classes, and that is Jawaharlal Nehru. He is the only one who, as far as I can see it, in an India that is infested with obscurantists, is the champion of the minorities. ...

Having said that I do not want to throw any more bouquets, because I would like to get down to realism, get down to brass tacks and try to give my own suggestions. I know it has become the habit in this country for speakers to screen themselves behind big names. Mahatma Gandhi's name has been mentioned, Dr Ambedkar's name has been mentioned, and the names of many others have been mentioned. Even the name of the Indian National Congress has been dragged into picture. I can think of no poorer way of presenting one's case than to shield behind big names. I am not here to defend my party or to abuse the other parties All that I request of this House and the country is to look at this problem above party politics, because if it is going to be treated as a matter of party politics—what the Congressmen have done or not done—then I regret to say we shall be lost completely. For that very reason I urge my friends, whether they are with me politically or against me, to accept whatever I say in that particular light, in the light of this tremendous porblem being kept above party politics. And it is because of that I have to criticise the various Governments of the States about whatever, in my opinion, they have failed to achieve. I have no doubt whatever in my mind. Unfortunately, it is because everything is handled from the political angle that we have failed in this—whether it is the Congress Party, the Reds, the Brown, Yellow or anybody else. We have failed to achieve what we might have achieved even in these couple of years.

I know there will be speakers after me, particularly people wearing white caps who will eulogise everything that has been done by their fellow whitecapwallas. Let us go to Bihar and see the areas where Adibasis suffer and also glory. What is happening in Bihar? I have only just mentioned that people screen themselves behind big names. The name of Adimjati Seva Mandal has been mentioned in this connection. There are annual conferences held in Rashtrapati Bhavan. Why? Are these people prepared to tell me here that the Mandal has commanded any confidence in any of the places where it has been constituted? How is it that in South Bihar, in Jharkhand, despite my hon. friend, Mr Jawaharlal Nehru—whom we worship, because he is the only hope of this country— despite his visit to that area the Congress faced a holocaust, because Government money is used there for political purposes?

Pandit Algu Rai Shastri (Azamgarh Distt.—East *cum* Ballia Distt.—West): You mention Jawaharlal's name to abuse the Congress.

Shri Jaipal Singh: I particularly mention it because I do not want our reverend Leader to be exploited by unscrupulous people. I am advisedly using these rather strong words. I do not mean to abuse anybody. But what I want to say is this. There are people who call themselves social workers. They are not social workers. (*An Hon. Member*: Some of them are.) Some people, I said. There are some people who call themselves social workers and are exploiting the fair name of the Indian National Congress and Government funds; and they are not doing the tremendous, noble party any good. I want my friends on the other side to realize and to appreciate the fact. We do not mind who does good—whether it is Western missionaries, Ramakrishna Mission, Indian National Congress, anybody. We will welcome everyone who will come to help us to grow bigger and better and become prosperous. How is it? Can my friends on the other side tell us why is it that non-aboriginals in the Naga Hills are suspect? It is all very well for my friends to say that during the British regime non-aboriginals were not allowed to go to the Naga Hills. Would Dr. Katju have visited the Naga Hills those days? If he had done so, perhaps, he would have come back minus his head. I am not in any way supporting this isolationism of the British. But there were certain definite reasons. My friend, Dr. Katju, suggested that more people should go and mix there. God help if that is going to happen! If you are going to bring more *baniyas* and money-lenders, Heaven help the Adibasis in those jungles! What we want is genuine workers. I agree with him. We do not want that lovely speeches should be made and nothing more happen. We want something definite and concrete.

What is happening today? Last June we had a great conference here. It was convened by the Special Officer. People were brought in from all over India. A very good thing. And I thought then that the speeches of our President, of our Prime Minister and my friend opposite would have given a new approach—as the Prime Minister is so fond of using that expression—a new approach to this tremendous problem. And he has repeated that after his wonderful visit to the Assam Hills. I wish the Prime Minister's words could be taken a little more seriously than they are by the various States. I can only weigh up things by what happens, not by what is meant in the mind of the Prime Minister or my hon. friend Dr. Katju.

I have been a Member of the Central Scholarships Committee. What happened last year? Not a single scholarship applicant from Rajasthan. Why? The Rajasthan Government does not want to co-operate with this Scholarship Scheme of the Centre. Not a single scholarship, when there are 16 lakhs of Bhils in Rajasthan. What does my friend the Home Minister say about that?

The whole question is this. I think the Ministry of Home Affairs in this particular regard have completely forgotten what their duty is as enjoined by the Constitution. They have completely forgotten it. I am not interested in how many Commissioners and Special Officers are appointed and how many reports are written. What I am interested in is how my people— and by 'my people' I do not mean only the tribal people. I mean all the backward people—how they are being enabled to come up to the general level. A report is not going to make them just come up. In fact the report is ignominiously lacking in any information. The Special Officer himself admits that nobody thinks anything of him. Even with the Prime Minister's letter people do not take notice of him. What do you expect? As Thakkar Bapa himself once wrote to me—I have read this letter in this House before and I dare not read it again—"After all he is a Government servant, and he has his limitations".

Let us forget the Special Officer. Whatever has happened or not happened is not his fault. But I do accuse the Ministry of Home Affairs for lacking in an integrated policy. They have no policy at all. It is now two years. What has happened? Precious time is being lost. And according to the Constitution, we are supposed to be making up the leeway in ten years. Nothing will happen, may I say, because, everywhere constitutionally your safeguards may be there, but there is lacking the sanction for direct intervention. What is actually the fact is that the Centre is inbecile, is unable to tell the other people what they should do.

It has happened only yesterday. What did my friend the Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power say? Here the Prime Minister and Planning Minister and everybody has assured us on the floor of this House and told us that the Adibasis, evacuated from the places submerged by water as a result of the multi-purpose river valley projects, would get land for land, house for house. Now we are told, like a bolt from the blue: no. I can repeat the words. But they are so fresh. It happened only yesterday. And I do not think the House would like to be burdened with a repetition of that. A complete change. What is happening? We hear of a wonderful thing, the Hirakud Dam. Yes, the Hirakud Dam is an excellent thing. But is that all? Is a fine piece of engineering all that my hon. friends on the other side want to enthuse over, and make me completely forget what is going to happen to my people? Should not these people who are transplanted be rehabilitated elsewhere or enabled to live with any self-respect? Is an engineering feat the only thing we should brag about in this country?

What happened at the time of land acquisition for the Chittaranjan Loco Works? The Santals there were given cash. Within about three weeks they were landless labourers.

Yesterday a question was asked about the Maithon project. I would urge upon my friends, it may be that they are not quite near the spot where all the tragedies happen. They do not quite appreciate the tragedy that is brought about. Do we want to increase the army of landless workers in this country? If we do not, then the Government should adopt a firm policy that no one should be made to evacuate a village—Santal or no Santal—unless he is given land for land, house for house, and more if possible.

I know the difficulties of the Government. Miracles obviously cannot be worked overnight. I do appreciate the fact that any big change that has to come, whether it is for the Harijans or any other backward group, must come from within. I have to stress the fact that I do not want any non-official agency to work this. In the name of patriotism, people go about the country and abuse the trust the various political parties and Government have put in them. I have seen it be-

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fore my eyes. I do not want to mention names. But it is a fact. The House must accept it when I say that we have to screen these non-official agencies carefully. It is not that only Congressmen are patriots, that only non-official agencies that are sponsored by the Congress must qualify for ameliorative measures. It should not be like that. It should be above party politics.

All that I would urge on my friends opposite is this. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, a couple of years back, when a representation had been made by the Father of this House, Mr. B. Das, after his tour of Assam wrote back saying that for some time he had been thinking of having a Ministry of Social Services. Perhaps my hon. friend would like me to remind him of it, in case he thinks I am just pulling something out of my hat. It is not that. This is what he said:

> "Long time ago I was of opinion that we should have a Minister of Social Services. But there is no point in having a Minister unless there is something to be done."

Well, quite frankly, I do not understand what the latter part means. But the first part says that for a long time my Leader there, our Leader, the Leader of this House has been thinking of establishing a Ministry of Social Services. But then he finds himself confronted with the terrible problem of the question of finance.

The reason why I bring in this is for the same reason: the changes have to come from within. That is to say, there is ample material. Anyone who knows tribal society will realise that the material is already there. The tribals have to be made dynamic. You do not have to have necessarily people from outside. Give them ideas. They are very democratic. My hon. friend stated this morning they made 89 miles, or whatever it is, of road on their own momentum. They did not have an Engineer from CWINC or somewhere else. They are willing to work. They are not parasites. They are hard working people. And that being the case we do not want people to sermonise, all those people who come under the guise of various political parties and so forth trying to do them good. As the Prime Minister said in his June conference:

> "The approach to the tribal people should be one of learning from them and having learnt to try to help and cooperate."

Let us try to learn from that.

I do hope that this debate will be an annual affair and I do hope Government, in future years to come, will appreciate the fact that one day is not enough because most of the backward MPs want to participate and this is the only time when they can really let their hearts go out; and I do hope Government will see to it that in the years to come, there will be more than one day set apart for a discussion not only of this report but on the general subject of the amelioration, of the levelling up of that section of society which is backward and therefore unable to make the fullest contribution it should to the national honour of this country.

स्वामी रामानन्द शास्त्री (जिला उन्नाव व जिला रायबरेली—पश्चिम व जिला हरदोई—दक्षिण पूर्व—रक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियां): माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सब से पहले मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूं कि छः महीने की तपस्या के बाद में आज मुझे आप ने बोलने का अवसर दिया ।

जब मैं कैलाश जा कर कैलाशनाथ जी के मंदिर में गया और कहा कि भारत के दलितों के उद्धार के लिये कोई विशेष प्रोग्राम आप के यहां है, तो एक हल्की आवाज वहां से आई कि कैलाशनाथ जी दिल्ली के अन्दर इस वर्ष गृह मंत्री बन कर गये हैं उन को यह बात जा कर सुनाओ ।

दूसरी बात यह है कि माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी के यहां सब से पहले कैलाशनाथ जी से, जो हमारे नेता हैं, मिलने का अवसर मिला । उन्होंने कहा कि आप ने ऊपर से कपड़े को रंगा है, लेकिन मैं ने भीतर से अपने को रंगा है। और मैं यही कहना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने भीतर से अपने को रंगा है । वास्तव में छोटे बड़े मनुष्य मात्र राष्ट्र का एक अंग होता है, राष्ट्र रूपी यह शरीर होता है और अगर उस राष्ट्र रूपी शरीर का एक अंग यदि सड़ जाता है तो और राष्ट्र उत्थान चाहता है तो मैं दावे से कह सकता हूं कि कोई राष्ट्र ऐसी परिस्थिति में उत्थान नहीं कर

सकता है । आज हमारे सामने राष्ट्र का एक बहुत बड़ा सड़ा हुआ अंग है जो कि पद-दलित समाज कहा जाता है । यह वह समाज है जिस समाज पर सारा राष्ट्र स्थित है, सारे राष्ट्र का दारोमदार उस सड़े हुए अंग पर है । इस बात को देखते हुए पूज्य बापू जी ने कहा था । बापू जी ने कहा था कि "हिन्दू जाति ने एक बहुत बड़ा पाप किया है।" मैं बापू जी के ही शब्द आप को सुना देता हूं ।

"जो किसी भी बात में हम से अलग नहीं हैं और जो अनेक प्रकार से समाज की भारी सेवा कर रहे हैं, मानव जाति के इस बड़े समूह को निकाल बाहर कर देने को हम ने घोर पाप किया है । इस पाप में से हिन्दू जाति जितनी जल्दी से जल्दी अपने को निकालने की चेष्टा करे उस की उतनी ही बड़ाई है और उस की प्रतिष्ठा है । जैसे एक रत्ती संखिया से लोटा भर दूध विष बन जाता है, उसी प्रकार से अस्पृश्यता या छुआछूत से हिन्दू धर्म भ्रष्ट हो गया है और अस्पृश्यता की रूढ़ि में वह धर्म नष्ट हो गया है । यहां तक कि वह धर्म जो है वह इस वक्त धर्म के रूप में नहीं रहा है । मैं इस जन्म में मोक्ष नहीं चाहता, यदि मुझे मोक्ष न मिले और दूसरा जन्म मुझे मिले तो एक भंगी के घर में मिले ताकि मैं उन्हीं के घर में जन्म लेकर के उन के दुःखों को जान सकूं ।"

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA *in the Chair*]

यह हमारे पूज्य बापूजी के शब्द हैं । आज हम ने महात्मा गांधी जी के नाम पर वोट लिये हैं । आज हम ने बापूजी की गवाही दी है, आज हमें इन अछूतों को ऊपर उठाना है । यह समस्या है । इस सब को देखते हुए मैं समझता हूं कि इस बात का पूरा अनुभव गवर्नमेंट कर रही है और कार्य भी कर रही है । इस सम्बन्ध में अब बहुत अधिक न कहते हुए छुआछूत के बारे में कुछ थोड़ी सी बातें कहूंगा ।

एक हमारे पार्लियामेन्ट के मेम्बर हैं श्री बाल्मीकी जी । नाई उन की हजामत नहीं बनाता है बुलन्दशहर में । बाल्मीकी जी पढ़े लिखे हैं उन को बहुत अनुभव है, संस्कृत जानते हैं, लेकिन एक नाई उन की हजामत नहीं बनाता है । मैं अपनी भी कथा सुनाऊं । जब मैं अपने निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में चुनाव लड़ रहा था तो मैं देहात में गया । वहां पर हमारे साथी एक कांग्रेस भाई थे । उन्होंने वहां पर क्या कहा ? मैं ने कहा कि हरिजनों के लिये हमारी कांग्रेस सरकार ने बहुत कुछ कर दिया है, उन को बहुत सी सुविधायें दी हैं, उन के लिये क़ानून बनाया गया है, उन के लिये हर प्रकार की सुविधा है । तो वह कांग्रेसी भाई कहने लगे कि ऐसा लेक्चर मत दीजिये नहीं तो आप को एक वोट भी नहीं मिलेगा । मैंने कहा कि मैं तो जरूर कहूंगा । नतीजा यह हुआ कि मैं उन से अलग हो गया और मैंने हरिजन भाइयों में जा कर अलग इस प्रकार का प्रचार किया । मैं आप को यह सब इस अभिप्राय से सुनाता हूं कि देहात में लोगों को अन्धेरे में रखा जाता है यह आप जानें । जो सही सही बातें हमारी सरकार ने की हैं उन को जनता के सामने नहीं रखा जाता है । आज हम बापूजी की गवाही देते हैं, हालां कि आज हमारे बीच में बापूजी नहीं हैं, लेकिन हम उन की गवाही देते हैं और बापूजी के विचारों के खिलाफ़ चलते हैं । मैं आप को बताऊं कि जो भाई मेरे साथ थे मैं दावे से कह सकता हूं कि उन को दस साल तक वेद पढ़ा सकता हूं लेकिन मैं ब्रह्मचारी हूं, लहसुन प्याज तक नहीं खाता और वह मांस खाने वाले हैं वह सब जगह बैठ कर खाना खा लेते हैं ताकि उन को वोट मिले उन के लिये गिलास में पानी आता था, मेरे लिये अलग मिट्टी के बर्तन में आता था । सब मेरे सामने का किस्सा है, आप कहें

[स्वामी रामानन्द शास्त्री]

कहते हैं कि छूतछात मिटा दी है? अस्पृश्यता निवारण विधान पास हो कर यदि पार्लियामेन्ट भवन के अन्दर ही रह जाता है तो इस से भारत का उद्धार नहीं हो सकता है। इसलिये मैं अनुरोध करूंगा, सभापति महोदय सरकार से कि जल्द से जल्द इस प्रकार का कोई तरीका निकालें और गांव गांव के अन्दर सरकारी अधिकारियों को आदेश दें ताकि वह गांव में हर तरीके से इस प्रकार की जो असमर्थता है और जो छुआछूत है उस का निवारण करने के लिये प्रयत्न करें और गांव गांव में इस प्रकार का आदेश उन को दिया जाये कि सरकारी अधिकारी मुनादी करवा कर कूंवे पर चढ़ कर हरिजनों की पानी भरने की अनुमति देकर व अन्य प्रत्येक सार्वजनिक स्थानों का उपयोग करने का प्रत्येक मनुष्य को अधिकार है। यदि कोई इसका उल्लंघन करेंगे तो उन को कठिन से कठिन सजा दी जायगी। इस प्रकार उसे अमल में लाकर वहां पर जो छूआछूत है उस को दूर करें। विशेषतया मुझे गांवों में घूमने का मौका मिलता है, मैं आप को बतलाऊं कि गांवों की क्या हालत है। जब कभी गांव का प्रधान हरिजन चुना जाता है तो उसे गोली से उड़ा दिया जाता है उस को तलवार से काट दिया जाता है। मेरे पास इस के सैकड़ों उदाहरण हैं, मगर चूंकि समय कम है इसलिये मैं आप के सामने इस बात को विशेष तौर पर नहीं रखना चाहता हूं। लेकिन वास्तव में देखा जाय तो गांवों की बहुत बुरी हालत है। मैं आप को जिला सहारनपुर का किस्सा बतलाऊं, सार्वजनिक अधिकार कमेटी उस गांव के हरिजनों को जमीन देती है। मैं उस गांव बसाने वाली कमेटी का प्रधान हूं। पिछले सेशन में मैं यहां पार्लियामेन्ट में था, जब मैं लौट कर गया तो थानेदार मेरे साथ गया। उस गांव में हरिजनों के खेतों को दूसरे लोगों ने जोत कर बो लिया था। नतीजा यह हुआ कि उन्होंने मुझ से कहा कि मैं उन की जमीन वापस दिलाऊं। लेकिन मेरे यहां आने के बाद में लक्सर के थानेदार ने दो सौ रुपया ले लिया। जब मैं वापस आया तो मेरे सामने शिकायत आई कि थानेदार ने दो सौ रुपया ले लिया सन् ५२ नवम्बर के शुरू में इसी प्रकार गांव पीथपुर के हरिजनों से दो सौ रुपया रिश्वत ली। हम क़ानून बनाते हैं कि रिश्वत देना व लेना जुर्म है, लेकिन इस तरह से तो रिश्वत और बढ़ेगी और कोई किसी की शिकायत नहीं करेगा। क्योंकि शिकायत करने वाला भी दोषी और न करने वाला भी दोषी।

मैं छुआछूत के बारे में आप के सामने और दो चार बातें कहना चाहता हूं। अगर आप को भारतवर्ष का उद्धार करना है तो आप को आज से इस बात की प्रतिज्ञा करनी है कि हम इस को दूर करेंगे। हमारे कैलाश नाथ जी हृदय से तो चाहते हैं और मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि वह पांच साल के अरसे में हिन्दुस्तान में से इस छुआछूत के कोढ़ को मिटा देंगे, और नहीं तो वह भी मेरी तरह कपड़ा रंग कर मेरे साथ हो जायेंगे।

सरविस (Service) के बारे में एक उदाहरण और देना चाहता हूं। आज ६ महीने की तपस्या के बाद मुझे बोलने का समय मिला है। मैं ने एक चपरासी की जगह के लिये एक आदमी की दरख्वास्त रिकेमेंड (recommend) की थी। लेकिन ऐम्प्लायमेंट ऐक्सचेंज (Employment Exchange) वालों ने कहा कि हरिजन ऐम०पी० की रिकेमेंडेशन है और इसलिये उस को नहीं माना। ऐम्पलॉयमेंट ऐक्सचेंज वाले रुपया मांगते हैं पर हरिजनों के पास पैसा नहीं है। यह बात मैं दिल्ली की कहता हूं। इसी तरह और भी उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। एक लड़का ऐम० ए० पास, जिस का नाम राम दास था, मेरे पास आया। मैं ने उस को

क्लर्कों में लोअर डिवीजन क्लास में जगह देने के लिये रिकमेंड किया, लेकिन कहा गया कि तुम को नहीं लिया जायगा इस में तो दसवें पास वालों को ही लिया जायगा। एम० ए० पास को नहीं लिया जायगा। मैं ने एक प्रश्न किया था कि सैन्ट्रल ऐक्साइज में कितने हरिजन नौकर हैं—और जनरल कितने—उस प्रश्न का जवाब पूछने की भी स्वीकृति मुझे नहीं मिली। वह प्रश्न ही रद्द किया गया। मैं नहीं कहता कि उन को गजटेड जगह दी जाय। मैं कहता हूं कि कि उन की योग्यता के अनुसार उन को जगह दी जाय। लेकिन उन को चपरासियों में भी नहीं लिया जाता है। कहा जाता है कि अगर हम हरिजन को चपरासियों में लेंगे तो हम को पानी कौन पिलायेगा। इसलिये उन को चपरासी की जगह पर नहीं लेते। मैं एक बात और कहना हूं कि माननीय जवाहरलाल जी के यहां एक हरिजन रसोइया है। इस के अलावा मैं पूछता हूं कि जितने मिनिस्टर हैं उन में से किसी के यहां हरिजन रसोइया है। इस के अलावा मेरे और बहुत से मित्र हैं जो ज्यादा से ज्यादा धर्म का ढोल पीटते हैं। मैं उन से पूछना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने हरिजनों को अपने यहां नौकर रखा है। आपने घरों में सेवा के लिये मैं केवल हरिजनों के लिये ही नहीं कहना चाहता। मैं तो मानव जाति मात्र के उद्धार के लिये कहता हूं। अभी हमारे यहां २० अरब रुपया एक विशेष योजना पर लगाया जाने वाला है। लेकिन देखिये उस में मजदूरों के लिये क्या है। क्या आप को मालूम है कि आज उत्तर प्रदेश के बलिया जिले में दस पैसा रोज मजदूर को मिलता है और दो छटांक शीरे का पानी मिलता है। एक ऐम० पी० तीन रुपया का सिगरेट रोज पी जाता है और एक मिनिस्टर पांच रुपये का सिगरेट रोज पी जाता है। फिर मजदूर रोजगार व दाने बिना तरसता है।

Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to move my amendment though I was unable to be present in the House this morning when the amendments were moved.

I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

> "and having considered the same, this House regrets that the report shows that the Commissioner has failed in the duty cast on him by article 338 of the Constitution to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Anglo-Indian community in the Constitution."

I have a feeling that most of the Members in this House must be wondering how I have purported to put in this amendment when the report, apparently, deals only with Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Those who have not studied either article 338 of the Constitution or persued the report will, perhaps, not understand the position. The position is made quite clear on page 5 of the report. Article 338, under which the Commissioner is appointed, also makes the position clear. In clause (3) it says:

> "(3) In this article, references to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be construed as including references to such other backward classes as the President may, on receipt of the report of a Commission appointed under clause (1) of article 340, by order specify and also to the Anglo-Indian community."

Under clause (2), it says:

> "It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under this Constitution....."

Therefore, there is a specific duty cast on this Commissioner to investigate all matters concerning the safeguards provided for the Anglo-Indian community. I am prepared to concede immediately that the Commissioner has perhaps a much larger duty with regard to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the simple reason that they are much larger communities: but, he has a specific duty cast on him to investigate all the guarantees given to the Anglo-Indian community. I want to say this to the Commissioner and to the Home Minister that certain specific safeguards have been given to the Anglo-Indian community and that these safeguards were apparently intended to be implemented. I regret to

[Shri Frank Anthony]

say that the approach of the Commissioner to these guarantees shows that he has either forgotten about the Anglo-Indians and their guarantees or he has chosen not to care about them.

In his report, the Commissioner has said that his office was first founded in November 1950, that is, two years ago. I am sorry, I have not been able to attract the attention of either the Commissioner who is apparently in the Lobby or the Home Minister. I shall be grateful if I can get the attention of the Home Minister. As I was saying, this Commissioner's office was founded in November, 1950, two years ago. One of the specific duties cast on him in terms of the Constitution is to investigate the manner in which the safeguards given to the Anglo-Indian community have been implemented. What has he produced after two years? Two and a half pages referring to my community. The report is not only perfunctory, so far as my community is concerned, it is valueless. As I said, either the safeguards were meant to have some purpose or they were meant to be quite meaningless and not to have even the value of the paper on which they were written.

Dr. Katju: May I point out that the report is only for one year?

Shri Frank Anthony: That will not justify the reduction of his reference to my committee to one and a quarter pages. My grievance is that this office has been in existence for two years....

Dr. Katju: No, no.

Shri Frank Anthony:....and all that he has done in presenting this report is to make a catalogue of something which is already axiomatic and platitudinous. All that the Commissioner has done after being in existence for two years is to enumerate the guarantees which already exist, and merely refer to an Inter-State Board for Anglo-Indian education. I respectfully suggest that a forty rupee clerk could have produced the same report, working for ten minutes.

After all, what is the duty of the Commissioner? My own impression is that he apparently was not aware of the implications of article 338. He was not aware that a specific and categorical duty had been imposed on him to investigate whether the safeguards given to the Anglo-Indian community were being implemented. My own impression is that when he was writing this report, he must have read article 338 and he suddenly realised that he had a duty also towards the Anglo-Indian community and he deputed some forty-rupee clerk to enumerate the guarantees which any one who chooses to read the Constitution can find. I find that neither the Home Minister nor his Deputy is here.

Hon. Members: The Prime Minister is here.

Shri Frank Anthony: I find that the Commissioner is engaged in conversation.....

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): I am here in the House.

Shri Frank Anthony: I am sorry; I was trying to bring it home to the Home Ministry that neither they nor the Commissioner had any glimmering of the categorical and apparently solemn duty cast on the Commissioner, in terms of these guarantees if it was to mean anything to my community. It is not a laughing matter. The Deputy Minister seems to be greatly amused. Apparently, he has not studied the guarantees given to the Anglo-Indian community. I am quite certain that the Congress Party who were very generous in incorporating these guarantees, did not incorporate them in any spirit of levity, that they should be laughed at and not implemented. I would ask the Deputy Minister to study article 337 of the Constitution, if he is not aware of it already. It casts a duty on the Home Ministry and a specific duty on the Commissioner to investigate into my quotas. As I say, the Congress Party very generously guaranteed these quotas to the Anglo-Indian community because of their peculiar economic conditions. What has the Commissioner done in his report? There has not been a semblance of any investigation. As I said, a forty-rupee clerk could have produced a better report. What has the Commissioner done? He has merely said that certain reservations were made by the Government. Of course, I know that certain reservations were made. The clerk in my office knows it. The Home Ministry, in a Communique issued on 13th September, 1950, prescribed these guarantees. They were there. It is axiomatic. I do not want a cataloguing of what I already know. Merely saying that these reservations were made, does not mean anything. What the Commissioner was supposed to do was to find out whether these reservations which were given to me on paper were, in fact, being implemented or whether they were evaded either deliberately or because there was lack of knowledge either on his part or on the part of the Ministry.

After all, what are the three departments concerned? Once again, I would ask the Deputy Minister to look into this matter because my trouble is that I am dealing with people who are either completely unaware of the im-

plications of the safeguards, or unaware of their real significance. Certain quotas were given in three Central Departments: the Railways, the Posts and Telegraphs and Customs. It was the duty of the Commissioner to investigate whether these quotas as guaranteed by the Home Ministry were in fact implemented. He does not do it. All that he does is unctuously and platitudinously to say that certain reservations have been made by the Home Ministry, and say nothing as to whether they are being implemented.

The Railways employ, so far as my community is concerned, the largest number of people. We have been given a guarantee under this Constitution of eight per cent. of certain posts on the Railways. Has the Commissioner taken the trouble to ascertain whether eight per cent. or one per cent. or a fractional part of eight per cent. has been, in fact, given to my community? I make this charge here categorically that in spite of this guarantee given to my community, in spite of these quotas having been translated on to paper by the Home Ministry, the Railways have deliberately not implemented the guarantees with regard to the Anglo-Indian community. We are supposed to get eight per cent. on the Railways. The Railways are the largest employers of labour in the country. There are nearly one million railwaymen. I believe that between 10,000 and 20,000 men are annually recruited to the Railways. What is eight per cent. of it? It should be an appreciable number. What has happened? I cannot get any information from the Government. The Employment Directorate was able to give me some meagre information. In spite of the reservations on the Railways where Anglo-Indians are supposed to get eight per cent.—in the Posts and Telegraphs Department it is 40 per cent. of the Telegraphists cadre, and in the Customs it is 50 per cent. of the Preventive branch—the only jobs that they got in the first four months in 1952 in the whole of India, were five, and you tell me that these guarantees are being implemented. This is nothing more than a garish mockery. I make this charge that these quota guarantees solemnly given by the Congress Party and solemnly reaffirmed by the Home Ministry are today not worth the paper they are written on. I made this allegation some time ago, and what was the reaction of the Home Minister? I regret to say his reaction was cavalier, I might even say, frivolous. With a characteristic wave of the hand, the Home Minister in an unctuous way said: "Mr. Anthony is making allegations. Where are his figures?" When I make an allegation, I expect the Home Minister not to dismiss it in an unctuous or a cavalier manner, but to institute enquiries. The Commissioner in two years does not know, he has not bothered—although it is a categorical duty laid upon him—to find out whether the Railways are implementing the guarantees.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Frank Anthony: I am the only person speaking on behalf of my community. I may be given five more minutes.

Pandit Algu Rai Shastri: He must be given some more time.

Shri Frank Anthony: Is it not his duty to ascertain whether these guarantees are being implemented? The Commissioner has ignored his duties. And what is the actual position, after the Home Minister had made his cavalier and frivolous gesture? You cannot dispose of a community by shaking one hand. The Home Minister just shook one hand, and he thought that disposed of the Anglo-Indians. He will shake the other hand tomorrow, and dispose of the Scheduled Castes. You cannot dispose of communities in this way, however inconvenient their representations are. I am sorry that the Railway Minister is not here. I wrote to him personally. I have written to him repeatedly, but he has not had the courtesy to give me these figures. I have enquired repeatedly for a period of six months, and all that I could get from some, as I say, routine-ridden railway official, is that the labour involved is so great that they cannot give me the figures at the moment. The period of gestation for the Railways is an unnaturally protracted one. The Railways are supposed to have been implementing these quotas from 1948. In the year of Grace 1952, they cannot give me these figures. Unfortunately, the Home Minister is not here. He is in the habit of over-simplifying everything, dismissing things with a wave of his hand. If four years after Railways started implementing the quotas, they have no figures, how can they give me my eight per cent.?

Fortunately, my experience with the Posts and Telegraphs Department is a happier one. My friend Shri Raj Bahadur at least is in the habit of giving a reply when people represent matters to him. But most of the other Members of the Treasury Benches seem to have developed a new kind of tradition. They think it is a weakness to reply to letters, but Shri Raj Bahadur has given me the figures. He replied

[Shri Frank Anthony]

promptly giving the figures for the P. & T. Department, and I know where I stand.

Pandit Algu Rai Shastri: What is the difference between Raj Bahadur and Lal Bahadur?

Shri Frank Anthony: I am afraid there is a lot of difference.

Mr. Chairman: I have to call the hon. Minister at 4-30, and there are about 30 people who desire to speak. Even if I give five minutes each, it will not be possible to accommodate many. The hon. Member has already taken about 15 minutes.

Shri Frank Anthony: I have not touched upon a fourth of what I have to say. I am the only person speaking for my community.

Mr. Chairman: I fully know that. The time has to be distributed among the Members equitably. The hon. Member has already taken about 14 minutes. Now, if I call on another person I will not allow him 14 minutes, because, after all, within the short span of 42 minutes, I have got to give an opportunity to at least five or six persons more.

Shri Frank Anthony: There are three communities concerned.

Mr. Chairman: He can have two minutes more.

Shri Frank Anthony: Please give me five minutes.

Mr. Chairman: I am very sorry, I cannot.

Shri B. S. Murthy: Can we not have another day for discussion?

Shri Frank Anthony: Will you not allow me three minutes at least?

Mr. Chairman: I gave the hon. Member two minutes because I have to look to the interests of so many people.

Shri Frank Anthony: I am the only person speaking for my community.

Mr. Chairman: I cannot go further.

Shri Vallatharas: I want to make a submission to the Chair. The report deals with three subjects, the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward classes. So far, we have been hearing all about the first two, and nothing about the third. The third is a very important one. It covers nearly one-third of the report, and that section is not at all represented, and I am the only man who has tabled any amendments. Those who have given amendments are not getting a chance to speak. I am not aggrieved at those who have not made any amendments, but are getting chances, but my case is....

Mr. Chairman: I have heard the hon. Member. He need not expatiate on the point. He is the only Member who wants to speak on behalf of the backward classes, but the difficulty with me is that I am not in a position to give one more day. It is for the hon. Member to go to the Government and ask them for another day. So far as the time is concerned, at 4-30 I call on the hon. Minister.

Shri Vallatharas: I have no grievance against the discretion of the Chair, but the selection of the speakers does not satisfy the needs of all, because one-third of the sections affected has been ignored.

4 P.M.

Mr. Chairman: I am very sorry. After all, the choice has to fall on somebody in the House, and everybody has a claim. In the time available, it would be difficult for any Chairman to accommodate all the gentlemen. I am sorry I cannot go on like this. I have so many chits with me and I have to look to the interest of everybody.

Shri Damodara Menon (Kozhikode): May I submit, Sir, that we may sit till six o'clock.

مولانا آزاد - پانچ بجے تک بات چیت ختم ہو جانی چاہیئے - پہلے آدھے دن کا ٹائم دیا گیا تھا - اس کو بڑھا کر پورا دن دے دیا گیا ہے - اس لئے پانچ بجے ختم ہو جانا چاہیئے-

[The Minister of Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Maulana Azad): The sitting should close by five O'clock. Previously half a day was allotted. It has been extended to a full day. How can more time be allotted?] *(Interruption).*

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

श्रीमती गंगा देवी (जिला लखनऊ वा जिला बाराबंकी—सुरक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियां) : आज मुझे शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज तथा पिछड़ी हुई जातियों के ऊपर कमिश्नर महोदय की जो रिपोर्ट है उस के ऊपर अपने विचार प्रकट करने के लिये जो समय हमें दिया गया है उस के लिये मैं आप का धन्यवाद करती हूं ।

आज कमिश्नर महोदय की रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने बड़े सुन्दर तथा संशोधित रूप में आई है। उस में जो कुछ लिखा है वह परम्परागत है, और रिपोर्ट बहुत सही तथा निष्पक्ष रूप से लिखी गई है। इस के लिये मैं कमिश्नर महोदय का भी धन्यवाद करती हूं क्योंकि उन के व्यक्त किये हुए संकेतों का सहारा लेते हुए मुझे अपने दलित समाज की करुण कहानी की ओर कुछ अपनी सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करने का साहस हुआ है।

आज हिन्दू समाज का जो बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ अंग है, वह एक दलित कहलाने वाली जाति है। हमारे सामने जो रिपोर्ट आई है उस में उसके विषय की बहुत सी आवश्यक बातें छोड़ दी गई हैं। हमारे कमिश्नर महोदय की नियुक्ति १८ नवम्बर, १९५० में हुई थी। इस तरह से दो साल हो जाते हैं, लेकिन हमें एक ही साल की रिपोर्ट दो साल बाद मिली है, जब कि हमें यह रिपोर्ट सन् १९५१ में ही मिल जानी चाहिये थी। कमिश्नर महोदय के नियुक्त होने के बाद रीजनल कमिश्नर्स (Regional Commissioners) की नियुक्तियां की गई थीं, और यह नियुक्ति केवल पार्ट टाइम बेसिस पर की गई थीं। इस से हरिजन उत्थान का काम बड़ा गड़बड़ रहा और इसी लिये कोई नया कार्य नहीं हो सका। लगभग एक वर्ष हुआ जब कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिश्नर की होल टाइम (whole time) के लिये नियुक्ति की गई है। उन का कार्य निर्धारण इस प्रकार किया गया था कि जहां जहां हरिजन रहते हैं, वहां वहां की रिपोर्ट दें, और उन की तरक्की के लिये प्रान्तीय सरकारों के सामने कुछ अच्छी स्कीमें रक्खें। लेकिन ऐसी कोई रिपोर्ट किसी भी प्रान्तीय सरकार को नहीं दी गई, और न ऐसी कोई स्कीम हरिजनों की तरक्की के सम्बन्ध में ही किसी भी प्रान्तीय सरकार के सम्मुख रक्खी गई है। इस के अलावा, दूसरे प्रान्तों में जैसे आसाम, बिहार, त्रिपुरा, मणिपुर, मध्य प्रदेश, मध्य भारत के कमिश्नरों की नियुक्ति के लिये सरकार ने व्यवस्था की। लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश, पंजाब, हिमाचल प्रदेश को बिल्कुल छोड़ दिया। वहां पर कोई कमिश्नर नियुक्त करने के लिये नहीं सोचा गया। अब कमिश्नर साहब की जो रिपोर्ट है उस में बहुत सी बातें हमारे सामने रक्खी गई हैं। सब से पहले छुआछूत की भारतवर्ष से बिल्कुल खत्म कर देने का विषय आता है, लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि, छुआछूत के निवारण के लिये केवल क़ानून ही सिर्फ़ हम को समझाने के लिये यह विषय रक्खा गया है, और वह काग़ज़ मात्र तक ही सीमित है। किन्तु समाज में प्रत्यक्ष जो घट रहा है, उस में कोई अन्तर नहीं आया है वह वैसे ही है। हम देखते हैं कि सनातनी मंदिरों के, जैन मन्दिरों के जो नियम पहले थे अब भी वह वैसे ही हैं, उन में कोई तब्दीली नहीं दिखाई देती। इसलिये मैं कहती हूं कि यदि इस सम्बन्ध में केन्द्रीय सरकार या प्रान्तीय सरकार कोई जब तक सख्त कदम नहीं उठायेगी तब तक कोई तरक्की इस में नहीं हो सकती है। कान्स्टिट्यूशन का आर्टिकल १५ पेज ११ पर कहता है कि, जाति पांति का भेदभाव खत्म कर दिया गया है। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि, आज भी जो कुछ देश में हो रहा है, समाज की तरक्की के लिये वह बिल्कुल भेदभाव पूर्ण है। स्कूलों की स्थापना, कालेजों की स्थापना, कहीं जाट कालेज, कहीं जैन कालेज, कायस्थ पाठशाला आदि आदि संस्थायें इसी तरह क़ायम की जा रही हैं, और हर तरीक़े से उन्हीं को गवर्नमेंट की सहायता मिलती है। और इस में उसी जाति के लड़कों के पढ़ने का प्रबन्ध किया जाता है। इस प्रकार इस नियम की भी अवहेलना

[श्रीमती गंगा देवी]

कर दी गई है। छुआ छूत यहां तक है कि स्कूलों में, युनिवर्सिटियों में, ढाबों और होटलों में हरिजनों के साथ बुरी तरह बरताव किया जाता है। छुआछूत के बारे में मुझे ज्यादा कहना नहीं है, यह तो समय का फेर है, कभी न कभी यह समाप्त होगा। लेकिन फिर भी हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार को और प्रान्तीय सरकारों को इस के बारे में जरूर हाथ बढ़ाना चाहिये जिस से देश का एक बहुत बड़ा सवाल खत्म हो जाय।

इस के बाद यहां पर मिनिमम वेजेज (Minimum wages) और फोर्स्ड लेबर (Forced labour) के बारे में भी कहा गया है, कि फोर्स्ड लेबर, यानी बेगार खत्म कर दी जाय। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि अब भी बेगार ली जा रही है, बेगार खत्म नहीं हुई है। यदि हरजिन लोग अपने उचित अधिकार मांगते हैं, उचित मजदूरी मांगते हैं तो उन को डराया और धमकाया जाता है। जो कुछ उन के पास है वह उन से छीना जाता है। इस आम चुनाव के पहले जो दशा हमारे समाज की थी वह भी बहुत खराब थी, लेकिन आम चुनाव के बाद, हमें स्वतन्त्रता मिलने के बाद, हम लोगों को आशायें थीं कि हमारी सरकार हमारे लिये बहुत कुछ करेगी। लेकिन इस तरफ़ मैं देखती हूं कि सरकार कोई ध्यान नहीं दे रही है। इसी सवाल को ले कर जगह जगह मारकाट मची हुई है। हर तरफ अन्धाधुन्ध नीतियां चल रही हैं इस आम चुनाव के बाद, लोग यदि अपने अधिकार के लिये आगे आते हैं तो उन का सोशल बायकाट किया जाता है, उन के छप्परों में आग लगा दी जाती है। उन के दो चार खेत जो कुछ उन के पास है वह भी छीन लिये जाते हैं। यदि कोई खींच होती है, किसी तरीके से उन का केस आगे चलाया जाता है तो फैसला विपरीत पार्टियों के पक्ष में होता है कारण कि इनक्वायरी करने वाले भी उन्हीं के आदमी हैं। उनकी मुसीबत सुनने वाला कोई नही है, उन का दुःख दर्द सुनने वाला कोई नहीं है। चूंकि मेरे पास बहुत वक्त नहीं है इस लिये मैं अपनी पूरी बात ठीक ढंग से नहीं कह पा रही हूं। इस से बेहतर तो यह होता कि हम एक घंटा और आगे तक बैठें या हमारे लिये एक दिन और रक्खा जाय, क्योंकि इस तरीके से यदि हम अपनी पूरी समस्या को यहां नहीं रखते हैं तो आज का दिन जो आप ने इस विषय के लिये दिया है वह व्यर्थ हो जायेगा।

Mr. Chairman: May I just request the hon. Member to bring her remarks to a close?

Mr. Jangde: I will request the hon. Member to be very brief.

Shri Ajit Singh (Kapurthala-Bhatinda—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Sir, on a point of information. I want to tell you that I am the only representative of the backward classes from PEPSU. I appealed to the Chair two or three times, but I am not called upon. I request you to give me a chance to represent the views of my community in PEPSU.

Mr. Chairman: All that I can say at this stage is that I have heard the hon. Member's grievance.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: May I suggest that the House may sit for another hour?

Mr. Chairman: A proposal to that effect was made when the hon. Deputy Leader of the House was here. He was not agreeable to the request. I am sorry I cannot extend the time.

Shri Jaipal Singh: The hon. Minister presented his report. For the most part of the discussion the hon. Minister has been absent. How is he going to reply without listening to our speeches?

श्री जांगड़े: सब से पहले में शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिश्नर को इस बात के लिये बधाई देना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट, शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स, और बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिये जो रिपोर्ट पेश की है वह निष्पक्ष है। इसलिये वह सराहनीय है, और उन्होंने जो कुछ कहा है उस में गवर्नमेंट का पक्षपात नहीं किया है।

अब में सिद्धान्त की ओर न जा कर अपने कुछ सुझाव पेश करना चाहता हूं। माननीय काटजू साहब ने अपनी स्पीच में कहा कि गवर्नमेंट इस बात को जांच कर रही है कि सेंट्रल लेजिस्लेशन (Central Legislation) की आवश्यकता है या नहीं। मैं कहता हूं कि सेंट्रल लेजिस्लेशन की अत्यन्त आवश्यकता है जैसा कि स्वयं श्री कान्त साहब ने रिपोर्ट में लिखा है। अब कोई भी प्रादेशिक सरकारें अनटचेबिलिटी (untouchability) के लिये क़ानून नहीं बना सकतीं। वह केन्द्रीय सरकार ही बना सकती है। भारतीय संविधान के अमल में आने के बाद केवल केन्द्रीय सरकार ही छुआछूत को दूर करने का क़ानून बना सकती है। आप समझते हैं कि ग़ैर सरकारी संस्थाओं से छुआछूत दूर हो सकती है लेकिन बिना राजदंड के लाखों वर्षों का पाप दूर नहीं हो सकता है। इस लिये, जब तक केन्द्रीय सरकार का क़ानून नहीं बन जायगा यह बुराई दूर नहीं हो सकेगी।

दूसरी समस्या है सरकारी नौकरियों की। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री साहब ने भी नागपुर में कहा था कि हमें कार्यकुशल आदमियों की आवश्यकता है। लेकिन आप ने यह भी देखा होगा कि जो लोग बहुत कार्यकुशल होते हैं बहुतेरे बेईमानी और घूसखोरी करते हैं। सरकारी काम के लिये हमें चाहिये सिंसियर (sincere) और अर्नेस्ट (earnest) आदमी और हमारे शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब वाले सिंसियरिटी और आनेस्टी में किसी से कम नहीं हैं। क्या उन में चपरासी, पुलिस कांस्टेबिल, या प्राइमरी स्कूल के शिक्षक की भी योग्यता नहीं है? हमारे क्लेम्स (claims) को इसी आधार पर ठुकराया जाता है और टाला जाता है और उन्हें नौकरी नहीं दी जाती है। आप ने देखा होगा कि सेंट्रल मिनिस्ट्रीज (Central Ministries) का कोई ऐसा डिपार्टमेंट नहीं है जो कि आंकड़े दे सके कि अमुक अमुक डिपार्टमेंट में शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट, शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के कितने आदमी हैं, किस ग्रेड में कितने आदमी हैं। इस का हमें पता ही नहीं चलता। हम शार्ट नोटिस प्रश्न करते हैं तो हमें सम्प्रदायवादी प्रश्न है कह कर टाला जाता है। हम को इस बात का बड़ा दुःख है कि भारतीय संविधान के अमल में आने के बाद उस अनुच्छेद और धाराओं के बावजूद जो सुविधाओं के लिये उस में लिखी गई हैं, राज्य सरकारों ने कुछ नहीं किया। हम इस बात के लिये धन्यवाद देते हैं कि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने हमारी शिक्षा के लिये तीस लाख रुपया दिया है लेकिन प्रान्तीय सरकारों ने तो इस के लिये कुछ नहीं दिया है। मध्य प्रदेश की सरकार ने दो लाख भी नहीं दिया है जब कि वहां हरिजनों की संख्या २९ लाख है। जो सोशल डिसएबिलिटीज ऐक्ट (Social Disabilities Act) है वह अमल में नहीं आ रहा है। जब तक यह सब बातें नहीं होंगी तब तक हरिजनों का, जो कि हिन्दू जाति का एक अंग है, कोई कल्याण नहीं हो सकता। और इसीलिये बहुत बड़ी तादाद में लोग ईसाई और करोड़ों मुसलमान हो गये हैं और

[श्री जगड़े]

हो रहे हैं । बस्तर रियासत और छोटा नागपुर के सरगुजा जिले में बहुत से हरिजन और आदिवासी ईसाई बनाये जा रहे हैं ।

मुझे इस बात का बड़ा दुःख है कि हमारे जो हरिजन हैं उन के पास जमीनें नहीं हैं । असल में काम तो हरिजन करते हैं और उस से लाभ दूसरे लोग उठाते हैं । इस प्रकार हमारा कल्याण होने वाला नहीं है । असल में जमीन तो एक्चुअल टिलर का होना चाहिये, जो सूखी है वह सूखी हो रहा है और पूंजी पूरन होता जा रहा है यह बात मैं दावे के साथ कहना चाहता हूं ।

मुझे इस बात का बड़ा दुःख है कि अनुसूचित जातियों की संख्या घटा दी गई है । मध्य प्रदेश, मध्य भारत और राजस्थान में लाखों की तादाद घटा दी गई है । मध्य प्रदेश में आदिवासियों की संख्या २४ लाख कम कर दी गई है और मध्य प्रदेश में हरिजनों की संख्या सात लाख कम कर दी गई है । राजस्थान में भी यह संख्या घटाई गई है । मैं सरकार से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि सन् १९३६ में सरकार ने जो अनुसूचित जातियों की और आदिवासियों की लिस्ट बनाई थी उसी लिस्ट के अनुसार अनुसूचित जातियों और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की संख्या निश्चित की जाय । इस से हरिजनों का कल्याण होगा ।

इसके बाद मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यदि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट्स के डाइरेक्टिव (directive) को नहीं मानेंगी तो हरिजनों का नुकसान होता ही रहेगा । इस के लिये आप के पास क्या उपचार है ? आप कहते हैं कि सेंट्रल सरकार रिकमेंड (recommend) भर कर सकती है । शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमीशन रिकमेंड कर सकती है । ऐसे तो हम बहुत से मेम्बर रिकमेंड करते हैं और हर कोई रिकमेंड कर सकता है पर इस रिकमेंडेशन से क्या फ़ायदा होने वाला है जब तक कि शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिश्नर को पोस्ट को ओटोनामस (autonomous) नहीं बनाया जाता और उस को ऐग्जीक्यूटिव पावर (executive power) नहीं दी जाती तब तक उस का कोई प्रभाव होने वाला नहीं है । आप देखते हैं कि विभिन्न प्रदेशीय सरकारों के मामूली प्राइमरी स्कूलों में भी हरिजनों की संख्या बिलकुल थोड़ी भी नहीं है । बहुत सी प्रदेश की गवर्नमेंट्स तो रिएक्शनरी गवर्नमेंट हैं । लोकल सेल्फ़ में गवर्नमेंट कहते हैं कि हम हरिजनों को स्थान देते हैं लेकिन जहां हरिजनों की संख्या ९० या ५० प्रति शत है वहां उन को एक सीट दी जाती है । यह वेटेज उन को दिया जाता है ? हम वेटेज नहीं मांगना चाहते, हम भीख नहीं मांगते । हरिजनों के पास न पैसा है न उस का संगठन है । उन का तो एक करुण क्रंदन है, यही उन का आवाहन है । उसी से इस सरकार की शक्ति प्रज्वलित होगी और वह आगे बढ़ेंगे । जो नीचे हैं वह ऊपर उठेंगे और जो ऊपर हैं वह नीचे जायेंगे । समय एकसा हमेशा के लिये रह नहीं सकता । आज पसीना बहाने वालों का समय है । जो काम करेगा वह आगे बढ़ेगा । हम हरिजन काम करते हैं । हमारा और किसानों का राज्य होना चाहिये । क़लम बाबुओं का और सेठ साहूकारों का राज्य नहीं होना चाहिये । ब्यूरोक्रेटिक सरवेन्ट्स नहीं बल्कि हरिजनों का राज्य में हक़ होना चाहिये ।

डा० ओझा वीर : आज बड़े ही सौभाग्य की बात है कि इस संसद् भवन में हमारे उन भाइयों की चर्चा हो रही है जिन को हजारों वर्षों से सताया गया और सता कर के उन को आज इस अवस्था में रख

दिया गया है कि वह अपने मुंह से बात भी नहीं निकाल सकते हैं। आज बहुत थोड़े समय में आप के सामने मुझे यह बात रखनी है कि आज इस भारतवर्ष में स्वतन्त्रता मिल जाने के बाद भी परिगणित जातियों की दशा पहले से अबतर बन गई है। यह बात मैं दावे से कहना चाहता हूं। और सरकार को भी बतलाना चाहता हूं और कमिश्नर महोदय को भी बतलाना चाहता हूं कि सितम्बर सन् १९५० में सरकार ने अछूतों के लिये नौकरियों में १६·२/३ फ़ी सदी रखा था। मैं ने अपने २७ नम्बर के संशोधन में यह बतलाया है कि अब यह एक फ़ी सदी भी नहीं है। इस विषय में मैं दावे के साथ कहना चाहता हूं। हमारे और भाइयों ने तो गोलमोल कहा है लेकिन मैं उन के सामने जो गवर्नमेंट के आंकड़े हैं उन को रख देना चाहता हूं जिस से आप को यह मालूम हो जायगा कि सरकारी नौकरियों में अछूतों का प्रतिनिधित्व केवल देखने के लिये है, रचनात्मक कार्य होने के लिये नहीं है। मुझे दुख है कि इस समय हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब नहीं हैं। मैं आप को यह बताना चाहता हूं कि जो हमारी सर-विसें हैं उन में भारी पोलखाता है। वह पोलखाता क्या है? वह पोलखाता यह है कि परमानेंट अंडर सेक्रेटरी १८० हैं, और इनम शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट केवल २ हैं। इस के बाद आप को बतलाऊं कि फर्स्ट ग्रेड २०० टैम्पोरेरी अंडर सेक्रेटरी हैं, उन में शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट का एक भी नहीं है। इसी तरह से परमानेन्ट सुपरिन्टेंडेंट ३०० हैं, और उन में शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट केवल एक है यानी १/३ फ़ी सदी है। यही नहीं। मैं आप को बतलाता हूं कि ग्रेड दो के २५० टैम्पोरेरी सुपरिन्टेंडेंट हैं पर उन में हरिजन कोई नहीं है। ग्रेड तीन में परमानेंट असिस्टेंट सुप-रिन्टेंडेंट ४०० हैं पर उन में शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट निल (nil) है। इसी तरह से ग्रेड तीन के टैम्पोरेरी असिस्टेंट सुपरिन्टेंडेंट ३०० हैं और इन में हरिजन केवल दो हैं। असिस्टेंट और क्लर्क ३,००० हैं लेकिन शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट इन में केवल २९ हैं। यह इन शिड्-यूल्ड कास्ट वालों का परसेंटेज है। इस लिये मैं यह बात कह रहा हूं। और गवर्नमेंट को क्रिटिसाइज (criticise) कर रहा हूं। मुझे दुःख है कि होम मिनिस्टर साहब नहीं हैं।

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. The hon. Home Minister is not here, but the Deputy Minister is here. He is hearing the whole debate. He is sitting here.

डा० आटव वीर : ऐसा मैं ने इसलिये कहा है कि मैं ने उन के पास तीन चार पत्र भेजे, लेकिन मुझे उन पत्रों का कोई जवाब उन से नहीं मिला, इसलिये मैं आज यह कह रहा हूं। कम्बाइन्ड इंडियन ऐडमिनिस्ट्रे-टिव सर्विस (Combined Indian Administrative Service) के बारे में मैं आप को बतलाऊं कि सन् १९४८ में ६१ हरिजन बैठे, सन् १९४९ में ४५ बैठे, १९५० में ५१ बैठे और सन् १९५१ में ५७ बैठे, कुल २१४ आदमी इम्तिहान में बैठे। सन् १९४८ में १२६ लिये गये जिन में कोई शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट का नहीं था, सन् ४९ में १४२ लिये गये जिन में केवल एक शिड्-यूल्ड कास्ट का था, १९५० में १७१ लिये गये जिन में केवल एक हरिजन था और सन् १९५१ में कुल १८४ लिये गये जिन में एक भी हरिजन नहीं था, सिर्फ़ दो सेंट्रल सर्विस क्लास वन (Central Service Class I) के लिये गये, आई० ए० एस० में नहीं। मैं यह फ़िगर्स देकर सभापति महोदय को बतलाना चाहता था कि अगर यही रुख़ नौकरियों का रहा तो माफ़ कीजिये दस वर्ष के अन्दर भी आप इन जातियों का समान स्तर नहीं कर पायेंगे। इसलिये मुझे कहना है कि यदि

[डा० जाटववीर]

संरक्षण देना है और वास्तव में उन में समानता लानी है और अस्पृश्यता के कलंक को सर्वदा के लिये अपने देश से मिटाना है तो आप इधर ध्यान दें और उन को उन के सुरक्षित अधिकार प्रदान करें। अगर मुझे दो मिनट और दे दिया जाय तो मैं आप के सामने जो वास्तविक दशा है बतलाऊंगा।

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member must realise that there are other speakers who are anxious to speak.

Dr. Jatav-vir: Hardly two minutes, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: There are other hon. Members from different parts of the country. They should also be given an opportunity to speak. You will realise the situation and not insist upon continuing your speech. I am sorry I cannot agree.

डा० जाटववीर : श्रीमान् जी शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के ऊपर जो कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट है, उस के बारे में कुछ कह कर दो मिनट में खत्म कर दूंगा। जैसा कि उस में जिक्र है कि पार्ट ए स्टेट्स में कोई भी असुविधा नहीं है, मैं उन से दावे के साथ कहता हूं कि उन्होंने कभी इस बात का निरीक्षण नहीं किया। क्या वह झांसी का क़िस्सा भूल गये जहां हरिजनों से बेगार ली जाती है, आगरे में गत वर्ष एक अछूत ने शादी के उपलक्ष्य में शामियाने लगा दिये थे, उस को सवर्ण जाति वाले बर्दाश्त न कर सके और शामियाने को जला डाला गया और जिस तरह राक्षस लोग हवन आदि में विघ्न डालते थे, उसी प्रकार उस का सब भरभंड कर दिया गया।

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member said he wanted to speak on the report. He has not said a word about the report. I have asked other hon. Members to speak.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: Two Sikh Members belonging to the Scheduled Castes are not given a chance to speak.

Mr. Chairman: I have already given names. There is no time now.

श्री रघुबंश सिंह (बाहडोल-सिद्धि—रक्षित—अनुसूचित आदिम जातियां): आज दूसरे सेशन के आखर में आप ने मुझे जो बोलने का मौक़ा दिया है इस के लिये मैं आप को हार्दिक धन्यवाद देता हूं और मुझे इस बात की बड़ी खुशी है कि मैं भी अपने टूटे फूटे शब्दों में विन्ध्य प्रदेश के आदिवासियों तथा परिगणित जातियों के बारे में कुछ प्रकाश डालने को खड़ा हुआ हूं, किन्तु इस के पहले सभापति जी, आप से एवं संसद् के महानुभावों से क्षमा प्रार्थी हूं कि शायद बोलने के समय मेरे मुंह से कोई कटु शब्द न निकल पड़े और आशा करता हूं कि मेरी त्रुटियों को आप क्षमा करते हुए मुझे प्रोत्साहन देने की दया करेंगे। मैं यहां पर आप को विन्ध्य प्रदेश के बारे में कुछ बतलाना चाहता हूं और शायद आप लोगों में से बहुतेरों को विन्ध्य प्रदेश के विषय में बहुत ही कम मालूम होगा। विन्ध्य प्रदेश एक जंगली और पहाड़ी प्रान्त है जिस की आबादी क़रीब ३६ लाख है और उस में से क़रीब ४ लाख आदिवासियों की आबादी है। इस प्रकार से ये लोग राज्य की कुल आबादी का दसवां हिस्सा हैं, जो प्रान्त के जंगली व पहाड़ी हिसों में विशेषतया आबाद हैं। विन्ध्य प्रदेश खुद ही एक पिछड़ा हुआ प्रान्त है, जिस की हालत एक नन्हें बच्चे की तरह है फिर वहां के आदिवासियों, हरिजनों व परिगणत जातियों की आर्थिक समस्या तो अत्यन्त ही जटिल और शोचनीय है। क्या मैं केन्द्रीय तथा केन्द्र द्वारा शासित विन्ध्य प्रदेश की सरकार से पूछ सकता हूं कि राज्य की आमदनी का कौन सा हिस्सा इन आदिवासियों की उन्नति के लिये खर्च किया जाता है? जहां तक मुझे पता है दसवां क्या सौवां हिस्सा भी उन के

ऊपर खर्च नहीं किया जाता है । नतीजा यह है कि उन के पास तक पहुंचने के लिये न सड़कें हैं, न डाकखाने इत्यादि की सुविधा है । विन्ध्य प्रदेश के शाहडोल ज़िले में पुष्पराजगढ़ तहसील आदिवासियों का केन्द्र है । इस तहसील में केवल एक सड़क है और वह भी साल में पांच या छै महीने तक बन्द रहती है । बरसात के कारण लारी मोटर या कोई भी सवारी उस पर नहीं चल पाती । ऐसी हालत में वहां कोई तार-घर भी नहीं है जिस के ज़रिये बाहरी दुनिया से सम्बन्ध रक्खा जा सके । यही हालत सीधी ज़िले में देवसर व सिंगरौली तहसील तथा गोपद बनारा तहसील में मड़वारा व सेमरा इलाक़े की है । अकाल की सूरत में यदि फ़सल अच्छी न हुई तो न तो लोगों के पास ग़ल्ला पहुंच पाता है और न अन्य साधन ही सम्भव हो पाते हैं और इस कारण न मालूम कितने लोग भूखों मर जाते हैं जैसा कि पिछले साल सन् १९५१–५२ में अकाल में अन्नाभाव के कारण बहुतों ने खुद फांसी लगा कर मौत की गोद ली । इसी साल की बात है कि जब उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने पड़ोस के मिर्ज़ापुर ज़िले को अकाल का क्षेत्र घोषित किया था, तो हमारी विन्ध्य प्रदेश की सरकार चुपचाप बैठी रही और जब बरसात आ गयी और हर तरह के यातायात के रास्ते बन्द हो गये तब लोग भूखों मरने लगे । यही नहीं लोगों को बीज तक भी बोने के लिये न मिल सका और पिछली खरीफ की फ़सल भी बर्बाद हो गई । इस साल उपरोक्त दोनों ज़िलों में अकाल की समस्या फिर सामने उपस्थित है । शाहडोल ज़िले के मानपुर इलाक़े में अकाल पीड़ित लोग जंगली फल, पत्ते तथा धान व कोदों की भूसी की रोटियां खा कर अपना उदर पोषण कर रहे हैं, उन के बच्चों और स्त्रियों की दशा विशेष रूप से शोचनीय हो गयी है । तारीख १५ दिसम्बर के भारत अखबार के अनुसार किसानों में कृषि कार्य के लिये सिंचाई के साधन न होने तथा आसपास कोई औद्योगिक कल कारखाना एवं व्यवसायिक केन्द्र न होने के कारण मजदूरों में घोर बेकारी है । यह तो रही आने जाने तथा कृषि सम्बन्धी असुविधा की बात ।

अब इन लोगों को शिक्षा सम्बन्धी सुविधा देने का प्रश्न भी विचारणीय है, सीधी व शाहडोल ज़िले में कुछ पाठशालायें खोली तो गयी हैं लेकिन वे पर्याप्त नहीं हैं क्योंकि आदिवासियों की वहां पर बड़ी आबादी है । जब कि प्राइमरी शिक्षा अनिवार्य करने का विचार हो रहा है तब यह कहां तक उचित है कि राज्य के दसवें हिस्से की आबादी के लिये पढ़ाई लिखाई का कोई समुचित प्रबन्ध न हो ? आदिवासियों तथा परिगणित जातियों के कितने लोगों को सरकार ने वज़ीफे दिये हैं या टेकनिकल ट्रेनिंग की सुविधा प्रदान की है ? क्या सरकार का यह कर्तव्य नहीं है कि इन लोगों को छोटे छोटे उद्योग धंधों की शिक्षा दी जाय ताकि वह उन्हें शुरू कर सकें और अपने रहन सहन के तरीक़े को सुधार सकें, क्योंकि ग़रीबी और अशिक्षा तथा असभ्यता इन लोगों में अब तक विद्यमान हैं । चूंकि इन ज़िलों मे खनिज पदार्थ बहुतायत से पाये जाते हैं इसलिये औद्योगिक विकास में सरकार को कोई अड़चन भी न होगी ।

जंगलों और पहाड़ों में रहने के कारण, उन को पहाड़ी आब व हवा के असर से बीमारियों की बहुत शिक़ायत रहती है । वहां पर कोई अस्पताल वग़ैरह की सुविधा नहीं है । आज वह बेचारे हर एक क़िस्म की बीमारियों से पीड़ित रहते हैं और हर साल बहुत से आदमी काल के ग्रास में पड़

[श्री रणदमन सिंह]

जाते हैं । इसलिये सरकार से मेरी यह अर्ज है कि आदिवासियों, हरिजनों और परिगणित जातियों की शिक्षा तथा उनके आर्थिक और कृषि सम्बन्धी समस्याओं के बारे में विशेष तौर से ध्यान दिया जाय । क्योंकि उन की तरक्की की बात कोई हंसी खेल की बात नहीं है । अतः यह नहीं हो सकता कि जल्दी ही उन की आर्थिक स्थिति ठीक हो जाय । जब इस की ओर विशेष ध्यान दिया जायगा तभी उन लोगों की तरक्की हो सकती है ।

Shri Ajit Singh: I may say at the outset that it is the youth that is the obstacle in our way of getting chances to speak in this House. Sir, I think you will be in consonence with me.

India is a poor country and its people are very poor. It would be much better if we do not spend much money on getting reports which try to deceive the Members of this House and not the people for whose benefit this report is supposed to have been drawn. The Commissioner has taken visible pains to produce a short report from out of the existing schedule and material and has given the old thrashed and spent up schemes which every one here knew much before it the department was inaugurated. What has the department done? The Commissioner has taken pains to digress upon the difficulties and handicaps under which he alleges to have worked. He makes much of the lack of his staff. He wants a vote of thanks for accepting Rs. 1,500 and other T.A. bills instead of plain Rs. 2,000. This is all self-propaganda. What does it all sound like to the backward classes and tribes? This sense of charity, this knowledge of sacrifice is pleasing to his own ego.

After two long years, he has given us this report. Money has been expanded on four annual meetings from 1949 to date. Valuable time has been allowed to slip from our hands, and we have got only high-sounding words. Whom are they meant to deceive? At least, the backward classes, they have not heard of it. They have yet to taste the high show of charity of these gentlemen.

The Commissioner demands more Assistant Commissioners and more district officers. Who gains? The meagre sum set apart for the poor goes to remove the social and economic problems of the high-caste fanatic snobs who find jobs in this, leaving the down-trodden, not touching his hair even.

Shri B. N. Misra (Bilaspur-Durg-Raipur): On a point of order, Sir. Is it parliamentary that a Member should read here?

Shri Ajit Singh: There is no time. I can only express my views. That is why I am going through it very speedily.

He continues to grind under more depressing conditions. He fights on single-handed his battle against starvation.

Only recently, a conference was held here in Delhi, to review the case of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. There was much self-trumpeting and propaganda in the papers about this. The conference was inaugurated by the President of the Indian Republic, and the Prime Minister also addressed it. The Press and the photographers were keyed up to expect the conference to be a tribal gathering of head-hunting Nagas, dancing Santhals and the like. Unfortunately, only the elite of the society was there, and the conference bore no tribal appearance. The majority of the people attending it were not tribals. Apart from the speeches, there was nothing which the conference achieved.

Under our Constitution, discrimination on account of religion is not allowed. The sole criterion in respect of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes should be that they are tribal castes, and they are generally backward. We want just and equal treatment to the Scheduled Castes, and no discrimination to be made on account of religion. At present thirty-four castes enjoy the concession given to the Scheduled Castes, provided that they are Hindus while only four Sikh castes have the same privilege in the States of Punjab and PEPSU. No Sikh is included in any other part of India. It is a clear discrimination and is leading to conversion to Hinduism. Is it not an indirect hit at Sikh religion? If, as declared, the intention was to provide facilities to certain classes on account of their backwardness and their having suffered certain disabilities then there is no reason why the same class equally backward and suffering from identical disabilities should be denied

the same concessions only for its professing Sikh religion. It is sheer injustice and democracy cannot be proud of it.

Again in the matter of professional tax by the district local boards, all tribes should be exempted. It will go to raise their standard of living.

Mr. Chairman: He has already taken eight minutes. A good many persons are anxious to speak.

Shri Ajit Singh: The Commission and the conference have not approached the basic problem.

Mr. Chairman: I would request the hon. Member to bring his remarks to a close.

Shri Ajit Singh: I am the only Sikh representative of the depressed classes. As Mr. Anthony was given so much time.....

Mr. Chairman: Time is being wasted. I would request the hon. Member to take his seat.

Shri Rishang Keishing (Outer Manipur—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): Only two tribal Members have been allowed to speak so far.

एक माननीय सदस्य : मैं आप से निवेदन करता हूं कि अभी बहुत से सदस्य रह गये हैं जिन्होंने इस बारे में अभी कुछ नहीं कहा है। मैं चाहता हूं कि थोड़ा टाइम और बढ़ा दिया जाय।

Shri Vallatharas *rose—*

Mr. Chairman: I thank the hon. Member for reminding me. It was already in my mind. He may speak.

Shri Vallatharas: I thank you, Sir, for the opportunity given to me to speak.

Mr. Chairman: I hope he will afford me a chance to thank him also if he is brief.

Shri Vallatharas: In such a big matter touching about ten crores of people throughout the country, that we find so much scarcity of time to express ourselves in a proper manner, of course, is a lamentable affair. Ordinarily, some matters will have to be put forth by somebody in this House in respect of each item. In respect of the tribal section and the Scheduled Castes, something has been said. In respect of the backward classes, nothing has been said since the morning.

I am not going into details about education or office hunting and the like. I belong to a backward class called *Kallars*. The Government and the Government servants have no sense of self-respect towards the citizens of the country, and they have described these people as *Kallan* in their records. If this word is said before any member of the community, with one knock, his life would be taken out. That is how self-respect has been maintained by the community. From this community comes the Raja of Pudukottah with very great traditions. About 20 lakhs of *Kallars* joined the Congress movement and took part actively in the freedom fight of the country. And they are described with the least respect as *Kallan*. I protest against it and I demand of the Government that that word must be removed, and instead of "n", "r" should be put at the end of the word, that is, they should be called *Kallars* and not *Kallans*. If they do it, I will be highly grateful. If they do not do it, then it will be a great insult to us.

Secondly, the operation of the Criminal Tribes Act is a matter to which I have to refer. After this report was published, I understand that the Criminal Tribes Act was repealed, but I find in the report that another Act to substitute the Criminal Tribes Act is contemplated. If that is contemplated as a substitute, then nothing more dishonourable and ignoble can ever happen in respect of a national Government and a free country; because, we are not nomads and barbarians. We have got a culture, distinct and more honourable than many in this country, and we had been dubbed as a criminal tribe by the British Government whose interest it was to do like that. For over 200 years and before, our ancestors were victimised by the English as we fought against them at the outset. We never wanted the interference of foreigners or a foreign dominating element in this country. They wanted to avoid us in that, and they dubbed us as 'criminal tribes'—about 25 lakhs of people under that. Like us, the Act included the sister communities *Maravars* and *Agamudaiyars*. These are two respectable communities and many great people among them are living. They were also dubbed as criminal tribes. Along with them, several other communities and Harijans have been grouped together. Without the co-operation and without the kind-heartedness of the Scheduled Castes.....

Shri Datar: On a point of order, Sir. The Criminal Tribes Act has already been abolished and there is no intention on the part of Government of India to re-enact it.

Shri Vallatharas: I request the hon. Minister to appreciate me when I say with reference to the report that another Habitual Offenders Act is expected to be substituted in its place. If you can give me an assurance that it is not so, I am happy. Because there is a similar Act in the Madras State. It is not at all liked, and as a matter of fact, distinction on the basis of community, caste and class cannot at all exist under the Constitution. I am only bringing it to the notice of the Government.

Thirdly, the report in one way is to be appreciated. Whatever may be the defects of the author of the report, one thing has to be conceded. He has felt the necessity for giving Government assistance in all ways to *bona fide* private people who want to do some work amongst these Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and backward classes. In respect of that, I am not going to take much time, but I will submit some proposals. Unless the Government are able to take into their confidence these *bona fide* workers in this country, they cannot get on with the tremendous tasks ahead.

Another thing I have to suggest is this. A Vigilance Committee is quite essential, to report to the Government about the conduct of the police department and the magistracy. Supposing one of the members of the Criminal Tribes or of the depressed or backward communities beats another or abducts a woman, during the night after nine you see a lorry load of reserve constables coming in and raiding the entire village. I personally know of such cases; and if you want evidence, I will supply it.

I have suggested in one of my amendments that the ex—and sitting—Members of the Legislatures of the States as well as of the Centre may be convened as a Committee for each district. They may be expected to report to the Government on the progress of the work and the safeguards enjoyed by these people as also the difficulties to which they are subjected. That will be very helpful to the Government. I would also feel highly satisfied if such Committee is appointed to look after the interests of these communities, just as we have the Committee of Privileges and Finance and other Committees.

In respect of the safety of these people, I would urge that at least 30 per cent. of the Judges in the High Courts, 30 per cent. of the judges in the districts and 30 per cent. of the magistrates must consist of the members of these communities. If that is not done, these people have no safety. Even if you do not mind about representation in the magistracy etc., I am very particular about their representation in the High Courts. Certainly we must have representation there. If there are five Judges, at least two-and-a half must be from among them because there is no sympathy for these communities in considering the lot and psychology of these backward communities and the tribal people.

श्री हेमब्रोम (संथाल परगना व हजारीबाग—रक्षित—अनुसूचित आदिम जातियां): मैं सरकार का ध्यान बिहार के संथाल परगना की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूं। हमारे जिले के आदिवासी बहुत दिनों से बहुत पिछड़े हुये हैं हमारी गवर्नमेंट को हम लोगों की तरफ़ ध्यान देना चाहिये। अभी हम लोग ऊंचे दरजे पर नहीं आये हैं। हमारा स्थान जंगली है। अभी तक हमारे लिये कोई इन्तिजाम नहीं हो सका है। हम आदिवासियों के लिये एक कमिश्नर बनाया गया है। उन्होंने काम शुरू किया है और हमारे यहां देख आये हैं। अब वहां का बन्दोबस्त ठीक करना चाहिये। हमारे लिये स्कूल होने चाहियें। वहां संथाल लोग पहाड़ी जंगलों में रहते हैं। उन को पढ़ने का मौक़ा नहीं मिलता है। हम लोगों में बहुत सी बीमारियां फैली हुई हैं। वहां लोगों में कुष्ट, फैलेरिया (Filaria), मलेरिया आदि बहुत बीमारियां फैल गई हैं। हमारे कमिश्नर साहब ने वहां जांच की है। वहां एक अस्पताल है उस में कुछ कुष्ट की दवा दी जाती है। हमारे जिले में कुष्ट की बीमारी बहुत फैल गई है। उस जगह का पानी खराब है। हम को अच्छा पानी पीने को नहीं मिलता है। इसलिये बहुत बीमारी फैलती है। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट इस बात पर ध्यान दे और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को सहायता दे ताकि हम लोगों को अच्छा पानी मिल सके। और हमारा प्रबन्ध अच्छा हो सके।

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

हमारे यहां इलाज का सुभीता हो और अपने लड़कों को पढ़ाने का मौक़ा मिले। हम लोगों को किताबें आदि मिलनी चाहिये। हमारे श्री जयपाल सिंह ने बहुत हल्ला गुल्ला किया है। वह हम लोगों में बहुत भेद डलवाते हैं और आदिवासी और नान-आदिवासी का झगड़ा फैलाते हैं। मिशनरियों को विदेशों से सहायता मिलती है और वह बहुत प्रचार करते हैं और अपना वोट लेने के लिये झगड़ा फैलाते हैं। वह पहले बैकवर्ड कमिश्नर के नाम से काम करते थे।

Shri Deogam (Chaibasaa—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): On a point of order, Sir. He is accusing Mr. Jaipal Singh in his absence.

Shri Bhagwat Jha (Purnea *cum* Santal Parganas): Does not matter.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may kindly ask Mr. Jaipal Singh to come here, if he is interested in him.

श्री हेमब्रोम: पहले से यह आदिवासियों की सेवा नहीं कर रहे हैं। पहले ब्रिटिश के जमाने में हमारे लिये मिशनरीज के रूप में कुछ इन्तिजाम किया गया था। वह लोग मिशन के रूप में काम करते थे और देहात में जा कर राजनीतिक प्रचार करते थे और बराबर क्रिष्टान बनाने की कोशिश करते थे। जब हम लोग अपने लड़कों को पढ़ने के लिये उनके पास ले जाते थे तो वह पहले मां बाप का नाम लिख कर उन को क्रिष्टान बनाते थे और फिर बाद में लड़के को पढ़ाने के लिये नाम लिखते थे।

ऐसी हालत में हम लोग जैसे पहले थे, वैसे अब हैं और हम लोग बैकवर्ड क्लास (backward class) के होने के कारण अच्छी तरह से पढ़ लिख भी नहीं सकते हैं। आज सरकार ने हमें इस बात का मौक़ा दिया है और सुभीता दिया है कि हम लोग भी उन्नति कर सकें और दूसरी जातियों के बराबर आ सकें और हम सरकार के इस प्रयत्न का स्वागत करते हैं और हमें पूर्ण आशा है कि स्वराज्य प्राप्ति के बाद सरकार इस काम में अवश्य सफल होगी। हमारे बिहार के श्री जयपाल सिंह ने कहा कि संथाल परगना में संथाल पाडीया सेवा मंडल और राची का आदिमजातयि सेवा मंडल सेवा का जो काम कर रहे हैं, यह केवल संथालों के लिये काम नहीं करते हैं और झूठ बोल कर ग़रीब आदिवासियों को धोखा देते हैं। यह बात बिलकुल झूठ है और मैं इस का खंडन करता हूं। इसके अलावा सरकार ने हम लोगों का उद्धार करने के लिये जो एक करोड़ की रक़म रक्खी है उस से हम लोगों का काम पूरा नहीं होगा, उन को खर्चा करने के लिये तीन चार करोड़ रुपया मिलना चाहिये, ताकि वह हमारी जरूरत को पूरा कर सके, ताकि भारत के सारे आदिवासी और हरिजन भाइयों को पूरी मदद मिले और जिस से वे लोग दस वर्ष में दूसरी हिन्दू जातियों के बराबर आ जायं। हमारी स्टेट को जहां पचास लाख से कम आदिवासी न होंगे, सेन्टर की ओर से पचास लाख की सहायता मिलनी चाहिये।

अन्त में मैं इतना ही निवेदन करूंगा कि सरकार जो पांच वर्ष रह गये हैं उस में वह हमारी हालत ठीक करने की ओर प्रयत्नशील हो और आर्थिक सहायता भी ज्यादा दे ताकि हम लोग जो हमारा उद्देश्य है उस में सफल हों।

श्री बाल्मीकि: उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, समय के अभाव के कारण जब बहुत देर के बाद मुझे बोलने का अवसर मिला तो ऐसा प्रतीत हुआ मानों समय के कूड़े करकट से एक नया बाल्मीकी यहां निकला है, मेरा मतलब भंगी से है।

[श्री वाल्मी की]

यहां पर आज शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट पर विचार किया जा रहा है और यह रिपोर्ट उदासीनता तथा निराशा रूपी समुद्र में एक तैल-बिन्दु की तरह से फैलती हुई प्रतीत होती है और उस से हमें उम्मीद होती है कि यह सरकार अस्पृश्यता को, जो देश में बुरी तरह घर किये हुये है दूर करना चाहती है। छुआछूत रूपी बहुमुखी पिशाचिनी पर इस रिपोर्ट द्वारा एक प्रकार की चोट की जा रही है और हृदय से की जा रही है और मैं इस हेतु इस रिपोर्ट का स्वागत करता हूं।

अभी यहां पर जातपात की लानत का जिक्र किया गया है। जातिगत भावनायें देशवासियों के दिल और दिमाग़ में घर किये हुये हैं और यह जातिगत भावना ठीक उसी प्रकार से देश को जकड़े हुये है जिस तरह से मगरमच्छ अपने जबड़े को भींचे पड़ा रहता है। अस्पृश्यता का प्रश्न आज भी उतना ही जटिल है। मैं गांधी जी के शब्दों को दुहराना चाहता हूं —"कि अस्पृश्यता वर्तमान समाज के माथे पर अमिट कलंक का टीका है। मैं सोचता हूं कि अस्पृश्यता की इस विनाशकारी और बन्धनकारी भावना ने हमारे बीच उस समय प्रवेश पाया होगा जब हम अपनी अधोगति की चरम सीमा पर थे। यह बुराई हमारे साथ लगी रही है और आज भी लगी है। मेरे जानते यह एक अभिशाप है। और जब तक यह अभिशाप हमारे साथ लगा रहेगा तब तक हमें सोचना चाहिये कि इस पवित्र भूमि पर जो कुछ भी विपत्ति आती है वह इस घोर पाप के दण्ड स्वरूप ही है। अस्पृश्यता जिस रूप में आज हिन्दू समाज में प्रचलित है वह भगवान और मनुष्य दोनों के विरुद्ध पाप है। यह एक विष की तरह है जो हिन्दू धर्म के मर्म को खाये जा रहा है। उन के तो हम ने पर काट डाले हैं। उन की सद्भावनाओं को दबा दिया है। उन्हें जीवन की साधारण सुविधायें भी प्राप्त नहीं हैं।"

मैं समझता हूं कि आज यहां पर ऐसी बातें कहना अच्छा नहीं लगता है। हमारे देश में आजादी का सूर्य उदय हो गया है, लेकिन लाचारी है, क्योंकि उस आजादी रूपी सूर्य की किरण अभी तक हमारे भंगियों, चमारों और अन्य नीची कही जाने वाली जातियों के घरों में नहीं पहुंची हैं। मैं देखना चाहता हूं कि हम में से कौन पाखाने के ढेरों और सड़ते हुये चमड़े से भरी कुरड़ियों से उठती हुई भयंकर बदबू के बीच में बैठना चाहता है। मेरी आखें ऐसे महापुरुष, मिशनरी और रिफ़ार्मर की खोज में लगी हुई हैं जो भंगियों और चमारों की गंदी बस्तियों में आजादी के सूर्य की किरणों का प्रवेश कराने में सफल हो सके। मेरी आंखें ऐसे मिशनरी की निरन्तर खोज कर रही हैं जो इस देश से यह कलंक और अभिशाप मिटा सके और इस छुआछूत को समूल नष्ट करने में कामयाब हो सके।

आज हम में मानवता की कमी है और इसी कारण हम इस बुराई को दूर करने में सफल नहीं हो पा रहे हैं। मानव-समता के हितार्थ मानव-आन्दोलन (Humantarian Movement) की आवश्यकता है। हृदय को शुद्ध करने की आवश्यकता है।

मानव जात समान है, अन्न फूल में भेद।
जाति जाति में भेद लख, ख़ाक़ी करता खेद॥
[—ख़ाकी]

इसलिये जरूरी है कि इस बुराई को दूर करने के लिये हम उस असलियत तक पहुंचें और यह देखें कि यह छुआछूत हमारे मुल्क और समाज को कितना नीचे की ओर ले जा रही है और उस के मर्म को खा रही है—यह सब के सोचने की बात है ।

आज भी सामाजिक परम्परायें, रूढ़ियां तथा जातिगत भावनायें कितनी प्रबल हैं । इस रिपोर्ट की भूमिका में यह कहा गया है—

'The Caste in Hindu Society is still the most powerful factor in determining a man's dignity or calling or profession. Such a rigid caste system is not found anywhere outside India.'

इस जातिगत भावना को दूर करने के लिये हमारे सब के मिलकर प्रयत्न करने की जरूरत है और मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर आप इस बुराई को अपने में से दूर नहीं करेंगे तो आप का यह देश व समाज दुनिया के सामने सम्मानपूर्वक खड़ा नहीं हो सकता है । मैं इस बात से इंकार नहीं कर सकता कि पूज्य बापू जी, महर्षि दयानन्द सरस्वती, सद्गुरू नानक, कबीर और रामकृष्ण परमहंस जैसे संतों और महापुरुषों के द्वारा इस देश के अन्दर मानव-समता की कुछ भावना पैदा की गई और उस भावना की आज भी आवश्यकता है ।

मैं जानता हूं कि हमारी सरकार इस दिशा में प्रयत्नशील है और भिन्न भिन्न प्रदेशों में कानून पास किये गये हैं, लेकिन मैं यह जानता हूं कि केवल सरकारी कानूनों के द्वारा ही इस का हल नहीं हो सकता है, बल्कि इंसानों के हृदयों को छूने की जरूरत है और मुझे यह वेद वाक्य स्मरण हो आता है ।

'मा जीवेभ्यः प्रमदः ।' (जीव के प्रति प्रमाद मत कर) ।

आज लाखों हमारे अछूत भाइयों की इस तरह से अवहेलना की जाती है और अछूत और परिगणित जातियों की अवहेलना की जाती है । मनुष्य के प्रति उदासीनता जितनी यहां बरती गई उतनी दुनिया में कहीं नहीं । मैं माननीय श्री जगजीवन राम के शब्दों में व्यक्त करना चाहता हूं जो उन्होंने ३१ अक्टूबर सन् १९५२ में नागपुर के अपने अध्यक्षीय भाषण में कहे थे :—

"परिगणित जातियों की संख्या ऐसी नहीं है जिस का कोई महत्व न हो । उन की अन्तर्चेतना जाग उठी है । वे जिन अयोग्यताओं, अपमानों, हीनताओं और घृणा के शिकार रहे हैं तथा जिन के भार के नीचे दबे हुए हैं उन से मुक्त होने के लिये वे छटपटा रहे हैं । देश के अनेक भागों से हमें खबरें मिलती रहती हैं कि हरिजनों के प्रति दुर्व्यवहार किया जाता है और गांवों में उन का सामाजिक बहिष्कार भी किया जाता है । ऐसी दुःखपूर्ण घटनायें जितनी घटती हैं, वारदातें होती हैं, वे सभी प्रकाश में नहीं आती हैं, अखबारों में नहीं छपती हैं । उन का एक अंशमात्र ही आता है । ऐसी घटनायें अधिकांश रूप में वहां ही होती हैं जहां हरिजन सजग और सतर्क हैं और अमानवीय सामाजिक कुरीतियों, आर्थिक शोषण, अत्याचार और जाति के सामने सिर न झुका कर उन का विरोध करते हैं, प्रतिकार करते हैं और मुकाबला करते हैं ।" वैधानिक सुविधाओं की गारंटी तथा छूआछूत को कानूनन जुर्म करार देने के बावजूद भी स्थिति में परिवर्तन नहीं प्रतीत होता ।

मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यह सरकार जो पूज्य बापू जी के आदर्शों के अनुसार चलने वाली है, उस का यह ध्येय हो जाता है कि इस सामाजिक बुराई को जो कि आज हमारे देश के अन्दर घुसी हुई है, दूर करने का प्रयत्न किया जाय । यहां पर सामाजिक बाधाओं असमानताओं का बहुत जिक्र किया

[श्री वाल्मीकि]

गया है । मैं उन का प्रतिनिधि होने के नाते जानता हूं कि उन की क्या दिक्कतें हैं । उन के घरों की क्या हालत है, मालूम होता है कि सुअर की खुडी हों, जिन को हम अंग्रेजी में होवेल्स (Hovels) कहते हैं, ऐसे गन्दे उन के मकान हैं, न वहां पानी पीने की सहूलियत है और न खाने पीने की । घर क्या होते हैं कूड़े करकट के एक ढेर से होते हैं, सर्वत्र गन्दगी का साम्राज्य छाया रहता है । जन्म जन्म के दारिद्रय , टोटे तथा अभाव ने उन्हें पंगु बना दिया है ।

मेरा सुझाव है कि एक ऐडवाइजरी कमेटी होनी चाहिये जिस में पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर्स हों और अन्य सदस्य भी हों जो शेडयूल्ड कास्ट के मामलों पर सरकार को सलाह दें । मैं आप को चेतावनी देना चाहता हूं कि जल्द से जल्द इस बीमारी को दूर करने की कोशिश की जाय, क्योंकि अगर बहुत देर तक यह बीमारी लाइलाज बनी रही, तो हरिजनों के दिलोदिमाग में सरकार के प्रति दुर्भावना पैदा होगी और उस दुर्भावना को अब तक यह बीमारी दूर नहीं की जाती, पैदा होने से कोई रोक नहीं सकता । मुझे संतोष है कि इस बात के लिये प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है ।

५ पी. एम.

हरिजनों की समस्या देश की विशाल समस्या है । यहां पर नौकरियों का कुछ जिक्र किया जाता है । उन के सामाजिक, आर्थिक तथा शैक्षिक उत्थान का प्रश्न सामने है । मैं भी इशारा करना चाहता हूं कि इस के लिये किस बात की जरूरत है । मेरा यह विश्वास है कि इस के लिये केन्द्र में एक अच्छे विभाग की जरूरत है और एक स्वतन्त्र मिनिस्ट्री की जरूरत है और साथ साथ एक इस तरह के विधेयक के आने की जरूरत है कि जिस के द्वारा दूसरे सूबों के अन्दर जो सामाजिक असमानता दूर करने के विधेयक बनाये गये हैं, जो कि बिल्कुल रद्दी की टोकरी में डाल दिये गये हैं, उन पर कोई अमल नहीं हो रहा है, हरिजनों पर हर तरह से अत्याचार किया जा रहा है , उन पर उस विधेयक द्वारा अमल कराया जा सके ।

मैं जानता हूं कि देश में हरिजन भाइयों को पानी का बहुत कष्ट है । उन्हें कुओं पर नहीं चढ़ने दिया जाता । यदि कोई मुझे भी कुए पर चढ़ाने का प्रयत्न करे तो दोनों की खोपड़ी लाठी से चूर चूर हो सकती है । इस के साथ साथ उन को और दूसरी तकलीफें भी दी जाती हैं । बेगार का सवाल भी आप के सामने आया है, बेगार न करने के लिये खुद मेरे जिले के दुजाना ग्राम में एक चमार को जान से मार दिया गया है । अगर बेगार के लिये किसी को भी जान से मारा जाता है तो इस की जवाबदेही खास तौर से केन्द्रीय सरकार पर है ।

जहां तक नौकरी का सवाल है, नौकरियों में हमारे भाइयों के साथ कोई अच्छा व्यवहार नहीं किया जाता है । मेरे पास शिकायत आती हैं । उन के रास्ते में अनेक दिक्कतें आती हैं । मैं इस प्रकार के उदाहरण आप के सामने पेश कर सकता हूं । यहां के एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेन्ज (Employment Exchange) में अगर कोई भंगी चपरासी की नौकरी के लिये जाता है तो उस से कहा जाता है कि 'अरे भाई तुम तो जा कर झाड़ दो चपरासी बनने के लिये क्यों आते हो' इस तरह की बातें यहां के एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज में होती हैं ।

मै थोड़े से समय के अन्दर कुछ और बातें बतला देना चाहता हूं । जमालपुर रेलवे अस्पताल में एक मेहतर जागो भाई पर सिर्फ इसलिये झठा मुकदमा चलाया गया कि

वह मेहतर के काम के अलावा एक खलासी के काम के लिये सिफारिश कर रहा था ।

जमालपुर रेलवे कारखाने के स्टाफ होस्टल (Staff Hostel) में एक मेहतर बेअरर खानसामा को, जो कई वर्ष तक उस स्थान पर काम करता था, सिर्फ इसलिये निकाल दिया गया कि वह भंगी था और उस की जगह एक आर्थोडाक्स हिन्दू खानसामे को रखा गया ।

प्यारे लाल बाल्मीकी पोस्टमैन नम्बर १९ डाकखाना करौलबाग को वहां के पोस्ट मास्टर यशवंत राव ने फटकारा कि 'तू भंगी है तू जा कर टट्टी साफ कर तू यहां पोस्टमैनी क्यों करता है' और इस तरह उस को दिन रात परेशान किया जाता है । इस तरह की बातें की जाती हैं । हमें इस तरह से नौकरी नहीं करने दी जाती ।

मैं सहारनपुर सन् १९४७ में डिस्ट्रिक्ट फ़ील्ड पब्लिसिटी आफीसर (Distt, Field Publicity Officer) था। वहां पर जो डी० सी० थे श्री रामेश्वर दयाल शर्मा जो आज कल दिल्ली में डी० सी० हैं उन से मेरा बराबर छुआछूत पर मुकाबला होता रहता था । उन्होंने कभी भी मुझे अपने सामने कुर्सी पर नहीं बैठने दिया । सरकार इस बात की जांच कर सकती है ।

इस तरह की और बातों का भी जिक्र किया गया । स्वामी जी ने मेरा नाम ले कर कहा कि बुलन्द शहर में नाई मेरी हजामत नहीं बनाता है, यह ठीक है । मैं सन् १९३४ से दिल्ली आता हूं । बुलन्द शहर में बावजूद मेरी तमाम कोशिशों के मेरे कपड़ों को न धोबी धोता है और न नाई हजामत बनाता है । मेरे एम० पी० बनने से समस्या का हल नहीं हुआ है । आप साधारण हरिजनों की मुसीबत को समझने का प्रयत्न करें । इस तरह से हमारे भाइयों के ऊपर सामाजिक अन्याय होता है । मैं तो उस दिन की प्रतीक्षा देख रहा हूं कि जिस दिन लोगों के दिल के अन्दर हमारे लिये कुछ गुंजाइश पैदा होगी ।

इस रिपोर्ट में भंगी के प्रति सम्वेदना प्रकट की गई है । ' Bhangi is the lowest of all--भंगी सब से नीचा है । समाज की सब से नीची सीढ़ी पर तो भंगी ही खड़ा है । पंजाब म्युनिसिपल (दिल्ली संशोधन) बिल '५२ को सरकार ने स्थगित कर दिया है—इसके लिये धन्यवाद । इस बिल से भंगियों में रोष फैला है । उन में असंतोष बढ़ रहा है ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The bell has rung thrice.

Shri Balmiki: Only one minute, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No, I have rung the bell thrice. The hon. Member will not listen.

श्री बाल्मीकि : मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूं भंगियों की हीन अवस्था की ओर सरकार ध्यान दे और उसे सुधारे । मैं देखता हूं कि हमारी सरकार इस ओर कुछ कर रही है, और इस पालिसी के लिये मैं सरकार को धन्यवाद देता हूं ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is improper for the hon. Member to go on like this. It is not at all right. Can I physically make him sit down? Hon. Members must observe the rules. I have rung the bell, once, twice, thrice, and the hon. Member goes on like this. I will not allow the hon. Member hereafter to speak at all. What else can be done than rusticating them on other occasions?

Shri Thimmaiah: The report of the Commissioner, Mr. Srikant, I am sorry to say, does not speak of the economic condition of the Scheduled Castes people in the country. If we go through the report, one can understand that adequate measures have not been taken by any State to improve the lot of the Harijans and the Scheduled Tribes and the backward classes in the country. As we know, most of the Harijans and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled

[Shri Thimmaiah]

Tribes and the backward classes are agricultural workers and they are all landless. They have no means of livelihood except at the mercy of the landlords and the big cultivators. They are continuously subject to uncontrolled exploitation at the hands of the big landlords and the cultivators, and even at the hands of the tenants sometimes. The agricultural workers get work only during the agricultural season and they have to work long hours and they have to get depressed wages which are paid in the form of interior food grains oftentimes. This is the real economic condition of the Scheduled Castes people and other backward classes in our country.

These agricultural workers have no protection of law though there is law for the protection of the industrial workers in this country. The minimum Wages Act which was passed in 1948 has yet to be implemented and I see in the report that it will be implemented at the end of 1953 As you see, in the Five Year Plan we have envisaged the upper limit of holdings of land and this will be for the progress of the agricultural workers. I beg to submit in this respect, as we have seen in the Five Year Plan, there are 58 million acres of fallow land and 98 million acres of cultivable waste land. For these four years if the State Governments had adopted a definite policy of giving lands to these agricultural workers and the landless Harijans and the landless backward classes, much of the poverty of these people would have diminished and their economic condition would have improved. In my humble experience I have come across many instances where the land always goes to the persons who are holding already lands or who are wealthy persons. If you keep these landless labourers without land then you cannot take the country towards progress. Therefore, I appeal to the Government to make a list of the landless workers in the country and take the land available, as I said before, and give it to landless people and bring them under co-operative farming and give them some agricultural loan. Is it an impossible task for the Government to do? Today the Harijans are landless, they cannot get even a morsel of food even if they work for 24 hours. I would request the Government to give lands to the Scheduled Castes people.

There are some people who will never care to give them lands because if they are given lands they will have enough of work in the fields, and they cannot go and work in their fields and houses. This is the real position today in the country. I know that land is not growing with the population of the country. Therefore, my suggestion is this. There are Government factories, there are private factories; wherever you go, I submit, in my experience, these people are not taken. I do not say they want their own men. I say they do not take Sheduled Castes people in the factories or mills. Therefore, I would request Government to see that Scheduled Castes workers are absorbed in the factories and in the mills. According to the Five Year Plan there will be plenty of irrigation works and also many industries will be established. Unless you take proper care to see that the Scheduled Castes, men and women, get work in large number in the factories and industries we can never think of the progress of these people and of the country, when the family of the poor man is every day increasing and adding to the growing population of the country.

There are many hereditary occupations which have been neglected by the Scheduled Castes people because of lack of capital and also on account of competition from machine-made products. You can make a survey of them. Give loans to those who can develop the cottage industries. There are many Scheduled Castes people who can manage such small industries. The Provincial and the Central Governments can set apart some money in their Budgets for the development of cottage industries and the other hereditary occupations of the backward classes. This will raise the economic condition of the backward classes and help them to earn their livelihood by themselves. They will not then approach you for scholarships or exemption from school fees.

I, therefore, appeal to Government and also to members interested in the progress of the country to see that proper care is taken of the Scheduled Castes, so that the social injustice which is being perpetrated in the name of *dharma*, in the name of tradition and in the name of cultur may come to an end. That is one aspect of the question.

I now come to the representation of the Scheduled Castes in the services. Article 335 of the Constitution, read with article 16(4) says that certain jobs would be reserved for the Scheduled Castes in the Government services—Central as well as Provinicial. It is already two or three years after

the Constitution came into force, but certain States have not yet reserved any percentage of their vacancies for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes people. Hungry as they are, backward as they are, this naturally gives room for suspicion in the minds of the Scheduled Castes people, that the State Governments are playing for time, to say at the end of ten years that everything is all right. Government should realise this and take early steps to dispel this fear on their part.

In the matter of recruitment to IAS and IPS, the Scheduled Castes people are never given their due. Recruitment to both these services is neither direct nor by promotion. Invariably a non-Scheduled Caste officer, who has put in as many years of service as a Scheduled Caste officer is preferred for selection to the IAS. The Scheduled Caste officer may have put in an equal number of years of service, to the satisfaction of his superior and may have a good record of service. But in the matter of selection he never stands a chance. I would request the Home Minister to go into this and see that some of the officers are taken in to the IAS and IPS. Sometimes the emphasis is on merit, sometimes the emphasis is on seniority, but both working to the detriment of the Scheduled Caste officer. If you really want merit, certainly there is merit among the Scheduled Castes people. Where there is a will there is a way. Therefore, I would appeal to the Home Minister to take some of the officers of the Scheduled Castes to the IAS and IPS, thereby lifting the prestige of the Scheduled Castes people and giving them an opportunity of serving the country and the people at large.

Lastly, I wish to emphasise on the Government that if within ten years they want the Scheduled Castes people to come to the level and attain their proper place in society, every effort should be made by the Central and State Governments and the leaders of the people to implement the provisions of the Constitution with sincere and honest intentions and without any selfish motives. Unless this national outlook is developed among the people you can never expect the country to progress. If this objective is not kept in view, I afraid, the country cannot progress.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Listening to the speeches today one naturally feels deeply touched by the warmth of sentiments which have been expressed by representatives of a section of our people who have not got their dues during the last so many centuries. I would very much like that this matter should be dealt with not from any party point of view or sectional point of view. It is a national problem. It does not matter to which party or group we may belong, we have got to solve it if ever India is to raise her head in the estimation not only of her own people, but of the world abroad.

Our Constitution includes some of the fundamental propositions regarding the improvement of conditions of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the backward people. But it is not the physical improvement of the people as such that matters. A big psychological change has to come, so that these people may feel that they are not getting something by way of charity or doles, but they are getting something by virtue of their own right. A psychology has to come not only in the minds of these people themselves, but also of others who may not have given to their fellow brethern and sisters what was their due. No doubt legislation will be undertaken, penal measures may be enacted, but no penal measures can ever implement what we have set as our goal. Supposing you come across some persons belonging to some castes who have not given their dues to other people belonging to some other caste— well, you may inflict some punishment on the wrong-doer. But you will not create that psychological atmosphere in that local area whereby people, out of their hearts and not out of compulsion, do what they are expected to do.

Therefore, there is need for propaganda, for education. I am not against legislation. Let there be legislation. But legislation cannot be the first word and the last word on the subject. There must be a countrywide propaganda. Education of course has to be imparted to all people leading to proper recognition of social values. In the report it has been mentioned that some sort of organisation may have to be set up. I do not believe in an organisation under Government aegis. I do not think it will serve the end that we have in view. All of us have to put our heads together and do this work. I would ask the Prime Minister to call a conference of representatives of all parties and groups and also of important social institutions and to have a programme, say, for the next six months when all of us should go round the country and have a new enthusiasm created in the minds of the people, that in free India there can be no question of distinction between man and

[Dr. S. P. Mookerjee]

man on the basis of caste and India will prosper only if these ideas of inequality become matters of the past.

With regard to education I believe, we have not been able to do as much as is necessary. Education is the thing which alone can transform the mentality of the people who have remained downtrodden for years. When they describe themselves as Harijans—persons who belong to some sort of lower order—it creates a most painful atmosphere. They are not Harijans in the sense that they are a separate class by themselves. They are blood of our blood; they are our very own. And if they have not been treated well in the past, due to our fault, or the fault of others, or the fault of society as such, then all of us are to blame. It is not a question of throwing blame at each other. Both of us have to sit together and create a new social atmosphere, where this sort of artificial distinctions will disappear. I lay very great stress on the need for providing educational facilities on a much broader scale so that no person belonging to the backward community, simply because he belongs to a lower caste may feel that he is deprived of his or her right of education on account of surrounding circumstances. There we can do much better than what we have done. I am not a believer in separate hostels or institutions. We must all remain together. This sort of artificial inequality must go and there must be the fullest possible opportunities given to everyone who has the merit to go right to the top.

So far as our Hindu system is concerned, our law-makers were not backward; they were not oppressive, so far as the formulation of laws was concerned. Which is the religion which declared that we are all the children of the immortal, *Amritasya putra*? Which religion could have dared to say that God does not dwell outside but dwells in the heart of every individual? But unfortunately, when such sentiments were uttered they were not in practice observed. Even the caste system was not on the basis of birth: it was evolved on the basis of *guna* and *karma*. Where are those ideal principles gone? Now it has become a rigid system and, as Swami Vivekananda said, our religion has more or less been transferred in the kitchen. And so far as the inner manifestations of real equality are concerned, they have virtually disappeared. Things have greatly improved in recent years but we have to discard the evils completely so that equal opportunity is afforded to all. We cannot do this by making laws. But opportunity must be equal to such an extent that whoever has the merit in him or her may be allowed to go ahead, irrespective of considerations of caste.

With regard to the question of services, I find that this is a rather difficult matter. The report indicates that practically nothing has been done. Reservation has been made and so many promises have been made, but unfortunately when the posts have been filled up the number of persons belonging to these castes is very few. Of course, the answer given is that properly qualified men cannot be found. Here a solution has to be found. We cannot leave this matter as it is. I do not suggest for a moment that if a few thousands of persons belonging to these castes are appointed that will solve the whole problem. But it creates an immensely important psychological change in the minds of these people. And for that purpose the handicaps have to be done away with. How to do it? That is a matter which Government has to consider. I for my part would have no objection at all if even we pass a special law or ask Government to pass certain administrative measures whereby doctrine of minimum qualifications may be accepted with regard to those employments where the doctrine of the highest qualification may not be necessary. What I mean is this. Certain persons apply for certain posts, and there you find ordinary graduates who are Scheduled Castes. But there may be very brilliant graduates belonging to other castes. And naturally, from the point of view of competition, this latter category succeeds and the Scheduled Caste candidates or the backward class candidates do not succeed. But if with regard to those services what you require is a certain standard of minimum qualifications, then we must be able at least for a period of five or ten years to change our law and give directions to the appointing authorities that there will be no harm in appointing upto the prescribed limit persons belonging to these castes, provided they possess the minimum qualifications. You may make an exception with regard to special classes of posts. I can understand appointments to big scientific and technical posts where men with exceptional qualifications must be appointed in the national interest. You can make a few exceptions like that. But the complaint has been made repeatedly by Member after Member as regards discarding all the applications of hundreds and thou-

sands of candidates from the Scheduled Castes and backward classes for small, ordinary posts on the ground that more qualified people were available. I do not see any reason why this state of things should continue. I therefore, appeal to the Government that this is an aspect of the matter which they should consider. Economic opportunities will lead to economic equality. So far as social status is concerned, it is not so much a matter of law as a matter of creating a new opinion in the country, with the co-operation of all, so that a solid, consolidated Hindu social structure may come into existence which may fit into our idea of India that is to be; and then, side by side they must continue rigorously education and opportunities to enter into services and into other careers the doors of which are today closed to them.

Lastly I should say, as some Members have hinted today, that so far as the attempts and the compaigns of the foreign missionary societies, Christian missionary societies, for conversion go on, that should be stopped. That should be stopped for reasons which I need not dilate upon. I know some neighbouring countries have stopped them, not by making laws, but by putting gentle diplomatic pressure so that all these big institutions which come here for the purpose of uplifting our social and economic conditions are not allowed to enter into our homes and compel, by means of temptation, our people to change their religion. That should be stopped by our Free Government without a moment's delay.

If we can all act together in a spirit of harmony with an intention of creating a new atmosphere, we can remove all the bitterness and bickerings and proceed in a whole-hearted way for the consolidation of our country which will be a credit not only to our Government but also to the people themselves.

श्री टंडन (जिला इलाहाबाद—पश्चिम): एक पुराने हरिजन सेवक के नाते और कुछ अपने हरिजन सहयोगियों की प्रेरणा से मैं इस रिपोर्ट के विषय पर बोलने खड़ा हुआ हूं, जिसे परिगणित जातियों और आदिवासियों के विशेष अवसर ने उपस्थित किया है। स्वाभावतः यह रिपोर्ट एक प्रारम्भिक रिपोर्ट है, यह एक चलती हुई वस्तु है, बहुत गहराई न इस में है और न हम इस की आशा ही कर सकते हैं। मैं इन विशेष कमिश्नर को, जितना परिश्रम उन्होंने किया है और जिस रीति से उन्होंने प्रश्न को रक्खा है उसके लिये बधाई देता हूं। परन्तु यह स्पष्ट है कि अभी हमें प्रतीक्षा करनी पड़ेगी और गहरी जांच की आवश्यकता पड़ेगी। इस विषय में, मैं ने अभी हाल में पढ़ा है कि, एक कमीशन, जो संविधान के अन्तर्गत बनने वाला है, उस की नियुक्ति शीघ्र होने वाली है। उस से अवश्य हम आशा करेंगे कि वह गहरी दृष्टि से अपने विचार उपस्थित करेगा।

इस रिपोर्ट में इतना तो मुझे संतोष मिला कि जो मुख्य राज्य हमारे देश में हैं, जिन को भाग क में के राज्य कहते हैं, उन में अछूतपन के विषय में सुधार हुआ है। वह होना ही था। इस में कोई संदेह नहीं है कि हमारे संविधान ने अछूतपन को समाप्त कर के एक युग परिवर्तक काम किया है। सुधार तो होना ही था, मैं तो और अधिक सुधार और परिवर्तन की आशा करता था। इस में कोई संदेह नहीं कि आज हमारे हरिजन कहलाने वाले भाइयों की स्थिति में सुधार हुआ है, उस को देख कर हमारा हृदय प्रसन्न होता है, प्रफुल्लित होता है, परन्तु फिर भी आप जानते हैं और मैं जानता हूं कि कहीं कहीं बहुत अनुचित घटनायें अब भी हो रही हैं। वे घटनायें साक्षी हैं इस बात की कि अभी हमारे देश ने अच्छी तरह से संविधान के सिद्धान्त को अपनाया नहीं है, हम आशा करते हैं कि कुछ दिनों बाद वह हमारे देश के अंग में घुस जायगा। परन्तु जान पड़ता है कि अभी उस में समय लगेगा। उस समय को पास लाना यह हम सबों का कर्तव्य है।

इस रिपोर्ट में भिन्न भिन्न प्रदेशों के लिये कुछ छोटे छोटे सुझाव हैं। मुझे भी एक सुझाव देना है। मैं देख रहा था कि इस

[श्री टंडन]

ओर किसी का ध्यान गया या नहीं। नौकरी आदि की बात हमारे भाइयों ने की है। कुओं की चर्चा इस रिपोर्ट में भी है। कुओं के बारे में बड़ी असुविधा है, यह मैं जानता हूं। जो बातें कही गयी हैं मुझे उन को दोहराना नहीं है। उन के बारे में मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट सहानुभूति के साथ उन बातों पर ध्यान देगी। शिक्षा के विषय में अधिक सहायता की आवश्यकता है। जितनी भी सहायता हम दे सकें, दिल खोल कर दें।

मुझे जो सुझाव देना है वह हरिजनों के रहन सहन के बारे में है। बहुत कुछ अछूतपन रहन सहन के कारण होता है। एक समय था जब मैं स्वयं हरिजनों के बीच काम करता था। तब मैं अपने कार्यकर्ताओं से कहा करता था कि वस्तु की गन्दगी आधा अछूतपन उपस्थित करती है। साबुन अगर हर हरिजन के घर में हो तो आधा अछूतपन तो वैसे ही दूर हो जाय। आज यह पुरानी बात हो चुकी है। यह बात आज से पच्चीस या छब्बीस वर्ष पहले की है। आज कार्यकर्ताओं से मैं वही बात दुहराऊंगा नहीं। आज मैं गवर्नमेंट को और कार्यकर्ताओं को भी दूसरा सुझाव दे रहा हूं। नगरों में और गांवों में जो रहन सहन की व्यवस्था है वह बहुत गिरी हुई है, अब उस पर ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। अछूतपन को हटाने का यह मुख्य रास्ता है। इस रिपोर्ट में मुझे इस की चर्चा नहीं दिखाई दी। मैं गांवों में देखता हूं कि किस प्रकार से हरिजन रहते हैं। बस्तियों में और नगरों में देखता हूं कि जहां गंदी से गंदी जगह है, जहां सर्वसाधारण के लिये शौचालय बने हुये हैं उन के पास हमारे उन हरिजनों को जो भंगी का काम करते हैं, बसाया जाता है। कौन नगर ऐसा है जहां पर यह नहीं हो रहा है ? इसकी जानकारी के लिये किसी रिपोर्ट की आवश्यकता नहीं है, किसी विशेषज्ञ की आवश्यकता नहीं है। केवल काम करने की आवश्यकता है। गवर्नमेंट को हमें मजबूर करना है कि वे इस स्थिति को सुधारें। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि तुरन्त ही जब तक आप देश भर के घरों की स्थिति को ठीक कर पायें उस के भी पहले हरिजनों की स्थिति को संभालिये। अर्थात् हर ग्राम में हर हरिजन कुटुम्ब को निश्चित रूप से घर के लिये जगह दीजिये। मैं कह सकता हूं कि हर गांव में जमीन है। अगर कोई यह कहे कि जमीन नहीं है तो वह झूठी बात होगी। मैं देश को गवर्नमेंट के अफ़सरों से अधिक जानता हूं। मैं कह सकता हूं कि आज प्रायः कोई भी ऐसा गांव नहीं है जहां हरिजनों के बसाने के लिये भूमि न मिल सके। आप को चार सौ, पांच सौ वर्ग गज़ हर कुटुम्ब के लिये देना चाहिये। इस विषय में मेरा यह विशेष कहना है कि हर घर के साथ इतनी भूमि हो जहां छोटी सी बाटिका लग सके। मैं चाहता हूं कि हरिजन कुटुम्ब अच्छी तरह से रहें। बराबरी के साथ रहें। इस के लिये यह जरूरी है कि आप हर गांव के भीतर उन को बसा दें। यह नहीं कि उन के लिये अलग बस्तियां हों। मैं उन को अलग रखना नहीं चाहता। आप उन को बराबर में जमीन दें जिस में सुन्दर घर बन सकें और अच्छी सफाई रहे। नगरों में भी ऐसा ही हो सकता है। अगर नगर के बहुत भीतर भूमि न दे सकें तो थोड़ा हट कर दीजिये। लेकिन साफ सुथरी इतनी जमीन दीजिये जिस में वह रह सकें और छोटी बाटिका रख सकें।

हमारे देश ने अवश्य ही इन हरिजनों के साथ न्याय नहीं किया है। गांधी जी

किस तरह से इन के लिये आंसू बहाया करते थे, यह वे लोग जानते हैं जो उन के पास रहते थे। जैसा इस रिपोर्ट में दर्ज है उन्होंने कहा था कि मुझे मोक्ष नहीं चाहिये, मैं तो बार बार जन्म लेना चाहता हूं इसलिये कि मैं हरिजनों में आ कर रहूं, मैं हरिजन होऊं, मैं ब्राह्मण नहीं बनना चाहता, ठाकुर नहीं बनना चाहता मैं केवल हरिजन बनना चाहता हूं, हरिजन के घर में मेरा जन्म हो। एक ओर यह उन की आकांक्षा थी, दूसरी ओर उन का यह कहना था कि हिन्दू समाज ने, हिन्दू जाति ने उन के साथ बहुत बुरा बर्ताव किया है। उस को उस पाप का प्रायश्चित करना चाहिये। यह सिद्धान्त उन के काम करने के थे।

जैसा डा० श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी ने कहा सिद्धान्त रूप से हमारे यहां सब बराबर माने गये हैं लेकिन व्यवहार में हरिजनों के साथ बुरा सुलूक हुआ है, कम से कम इधर हजार दो हजार वर्ष में। उस का हम लोगों को प्रायश्चित करना है। उन को ऊंचा उठाना है। हमारे समाज में एक ओर जन्म से वर्ण व्यवस्था को मानने वाले लोग हुये हैं उन का सिद्धान्त है जन्मना वर्णः अर्थात जन्म से ही वर्ण होता है, जो जिस जाति में पैदा होता है वहीं रहता है। जहां एक ओर यह सिद्धान्त रहा है वहां दूसरी ओर बहुत से संतों ने, महात्माओं ने ऋषियों ने कर्मणा वर्णः के सिद्धान्त को माना है, इस सिद्धान्त का अनुमोदन किया है कि कर्म से ही ब्राह्मण होता है। ब्राह्मण बाप का बालक ब्राह्मण हो यह आवश्यक नहीं है। हमारे यहां कबीर और रविदास की जो इज्जत है जनता में और पढ़े लिखे लोगों में, वह ऋषियों की इज्जत से कम नहीं है। दोनों सिद्धान्त हमारे यहां रहे हैं। आज आवश्यकता यह है कि इस दूसरे सिद्धान्त को बराबरी के सिद्धान्त को हम ऊंचा करें गीता में भी यह वाक्य आता है कि सब बराबर हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में पौराणिक कथायें भी हैं। एक कथा है महाभारत के सम्बन्ध में, कि युधिष्ठिर ने यज्ञ किया, लेकिन यज्ञ का घंटा नहीं बजता था। घंटा इसलिये नहीं बजता था कि एक हरिजन भक्त नहीं आया था। उसके आने पर घंट बजा। इस प्रकार से हमारे यहां दोनों सिद्धान्त हैं। दोनों प्रकार की कथायें चली हैं। आज युग परिवर्तन का समय है। हमें एक नया युग उपस्थित करना है। हम सबों को मिल कर काम करना है। हमें जनता को उत्साह दिलाना है। गवर्नमेंट इस विषय में बहुत कुछ काम कर सकती है। हरिजनों के लिये वह रुपया दे सकती है। बजट में जो रुपया रक्खा गया है उस को यदि दूना तिगुना कर दिया जाये तो मेरा विश्वास है कि कहीं भी कोई आपत्ति करने वाला नहीं होगा। उन के बच्चों को शिक्षा देने के लिये, उन को घर देने के लिये गांव गांव में, देश भर में, आप ध्यान दें। इस प्रकार से चतुर्मुखी कार्य कर के उन के जीवन को ऊंचा करना हमारा कर्त्तव्य है।

मैं फिर रिपोर्ट लिखने वाले अफ़सर महोदय को बधाई देता हूं। मैं समझता हूं कि इस से कई गुना कार्य वह कमीशन करेगा जो नियुक्त होने वाला है। तब गवर्नमेंट को अधिक अवसर मिलेगा। लेकिन इस अवसर की प्रतीक्षा आप तीन वर्ष तक न करें। यह मैं नहीं चाहता कि आप को एक बहाना मिल जाय कि कमीशन बना है, वह कमीशन डेढ़, दो, ढ़ाई वर्ष के बाद रिपोर्ट दे तब आप कार्य आरम्भ करें। इन तीन वर्षों में आप कमीशन की रिपोर्ट आने की राह न देखें। आवश्यकता है कि हम तुरन्त कार्य आरम्भ करें। जो कार्य हमारे सामने है उस के लिये किसी रिपोर्ट की जरूरत नहीं है, आप उस को तुरन्त अपने हाथ में ले लें

Shri Rishang Keishing: May I have one minute, Sir?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No. Sir. The hon. Minister.

Shri Datar: I have to thank the hon. Members for the way this great debate was carried on on a fairly high level. On behalf of the Government I express the gratitude, of myself and of my Government to the numerous friends, hon. Members who have made very valuable and constructive suggestions.

This is a matter in which there is no question of party politics or party organisation. This is a question to which every one of us, including the Government, has to give the greatest amount of attention, because, this is a problem which has to be solved and we have agreed that we are going to solve it in the course of the next ten years.

I heard Tandonji regarding the numerous solemn and great passages in the ancient Hindu texts; I know of other sources also where the great Harijan community has been condemned in the most despicable terms. Therefore, side by side with the expression of these high ideals, we had in India a society which tolerated the intolerable existence of what were formerly known as *avarnas or pancha varnas*, or those who were beyond the pale of society. Therefore, for the sins of 5000 years we have to pay, and we can pay it only by the way that in the course of the next ten years we remove this blot on Indian soicety.....

Some Hon. Members: Seven years.

Shri Datar: ...namely that there was a class which was untouchable, there was a class which was inflicted with a number of disabilities when the Constitution was framed three years ago, we took a solemn promise that in the course of ten years, we shall have a time when we can have only a classless society, casteless society and there would be no occasion for treating any class or any tribe as Scheduled. After all, these are terms of reproach. Therefore, it is the duty of this Government to do all it can without waiting for any report, without waiting for either appreciation or denunciation by others, to do all that is physically possible for removing all the disabilities under which the great Indian community, namely, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are suffering for so many years.

Before I deal with certain very important points, I should incidently mention certain misconceptions in the minds of hon. Members regarding a few points. If that is cleared, then, a lot of criticism will have been saved. In the first place, certain hon. Members contended that the population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was ten crores or even more. We have got the latest census figures of 1951 and they point out that the Scheduled Castes are 5,14,00,852 and the Scheduled Tribes are 1,91,07,662.

Some Hon. Members: And the backward classes?

Shri Datar: Secondly, here, we are not dealing with backward classes at all. Hon. Members will kindly note that we are dealing only with Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and not with backward classes at all. So far as backward classes are concerned, under the Constitution, Government of India or the President has to appoint a Commission, and that Commission is going to be appointed very soon. The report of that Commission will have certain reactions upon the attitude that we have to adopt even so far as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned. To that extent only the backward classes Commission or the question of the backward classes comes before us. We are dealing with almost solely with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and to a very small extent with the Anglo-Indian community, to which reference has been made very excitedly by my hon. friend.

The next question that I am going to place before you is that the report which is now under debate is a report up to the period ending 31st December, 1951. Almost one year has passed unfortunately before the report came for debate before this House. There are a number of circumstances as to why this report could not come before the House earlier. Whatever that may be, we have to take into account, the fact that on 26th January 1950 the Indian Constitution came into vogue. Then, in the course of the next six or seven months, the President decided that certain castes should be considered as Scheduled Castes and certain Tribes should be considered as Scheduled Tribes. Immediately after this was done by an Order, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Officer was appointed in November, 1950. In the course of one year, he had carried on certain preliminary enquiries by tours, by discussion and by enquiries from the various State Governments and the document that we

have is the first report of the Special Officer that has been appointed under the Constitution. Therefore, it is not possible for the Special Officer to have all the materials that otherwise we are likely to have, and that are necessary for us. That material is still being collected and even after 31st December, 1951, a lot of material has been collected; in particular we have collected material especially with regard to the Anglo-Indian community. Therefore, it was rather unkind on the part of Mr. Anthony to have almost got excited and vexed over the question that the Anglo-Indians were neglected. I may point out here, and assure my hon. friend that the Government have no desire to go behind the assurances that have been given to the Anglo-Indians rightly or wrongly. These assurances stand in the Constitution and the Government stand by those assurances. Therefore, it was not necessary for him to have made a reference, especially in the way in which the hon. Member made it.

Then, the next question.....

Shir B. S. Murthy: On a point of order, Sir. The hon. Minister said, assurances given in the Constitution rightly or wrongly. Does it mean that they were wrongly given.....

Some Hon. Members: That is correct.

Some Hon. Members: How?

Shri Datar: Whatever it is, it is only an argument; my hon. friend will note that. They are rightly given according to us: there are some people who think that they are wrong. Whatever it is, these are assurances by which we stand and the assurances are in respect of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and also Anglo-Indians.

Our hon. young friend from Mysore, Mr. Dodda Thimmaiah, the great Thimmaiah as we call him—Dodda means great in Kanarese—made certain remarks regarding the economically low position of the Scheduled Castes. Now, that is admitted. So far as economic position is concerned, we deal with all the Indian people together and we do not make any distinction between one community and another. Because, after all, it is a problem which is common. In the discussion that we are having here, we are concerned only with the special disabilities from which the Harijans or the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are suffering. Therefore, it is the duty of this Government to remove all their special hardships during the next ten years.

Then, it was contended that in respect of legislation, Government was not moving very strongly. So far as the question of legislation was concerned, it was pointed out rightly by an hon. friend on the other side that after all, it is a question of social transformation and removal of untouchability or extermination of all these disabilities has to come by a gradual and psychological process. Fortunately, for us, that process has started and I might also submit to this House that that process will have its fruition in the course of the next ten years. Therefore we cannot solely rely upon legislation. Oftentimes legislation has to be also penal. It is open to any Government, the Legislative Department of this Government or the various State Governments to frame laws. Under article 17 of the Constitution, it is clear that enforcement of untouchability is prohibited and is an offence. Therefore, taking the cue from article 17, various State Governments have already undertaken various pieces of legislation.

The next question that arises is this. We have received a request from the President of the Harijan Sevak Sangh that the various Acts are not of a uniform nature and, therefore, an Act dealing with the subject in all its aspects and on a uniform scale should be framed by the Centre. On that question, we shall take into account public opinion and also the reports of the various State Governments and take a decision as early as possible.

Dr. M. M. Das (Burdwan-Reserved—Sch. Castes): What about article 35(a)(ii)? Only the Centre can do it, and the Centre is going to do it! The report was submitted last February. One year has already passed.

Shri Datar: It is open to my friend to be as hasty as possible, but Government has to go according to a certain plan, and therefore, Government should have the discretion.

Lala Achint Ram (Hissar): It should not be open to Government to increase the period to seven or ten years. Government will have to legislate as early as possible.

Dr. M. M. Das: One year has already passed.

Shri Datar: The next point is about services. On the question of services, some of the friends were rather emotionally affected. Now the policy of the Government is that in respect of services, especially the higher services, we have laid down a proportion. We have said that the percentage of Scheduled Castes should be 12½ and that of the Scheduled Tribes five. Now, so

[Shri Datar]

far as the topmost services—All India Services—are concerned, we have to move rather slowly. That has to be admitted very clearly. After all this is a great country and the efficiency of the administration has to be maintained. With all the best will in the world that we are carrying on, we have here friends who are criticising us without any reason. All the same, a certain minimum efficiency has to be maintained—I am not saying of maximum efficiency. Now consistently with the keeping of this minimum efficiency, we have laid down certain rules, and I am going to place before you certain very eloquent figures.

Take, for example, the figures so far as the IAS and IPS were concerned during the last four or five years. The difficulty is that we have not got a sufficient number of candidates who are qualified to appear for this examination, even so far as the minimum qualifications are concerned. These figures are, as I said, very eloquent. You will find that in the year 1948 we had 2102 candidates who had appeared for the examination. And of these, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes together were only 61. So that is not a measure of which Government is going to be proud or going to exult. It shows the measure of the illiteracy amongst these people. (*An Hon. Member*: How many qualified?) For the year 1948, none qualified even so far as minimum qualification was concerned. If I give you the ranks of those who had been taken, you will be be satisfied how Government has been generous so far as these cases are concerned. Therefore, the House will kindly bear with me in knowing these figures. In the year 1949, we had 1981 candidates out of whom 153 qualified. And out of them, one was taken though he was almost at the bottom of the ladder. That is a point which you will kindly understand. Then you will find that for the year 1950, we had 2797 candidates of whom 51 belonged to the Scheduled Castes and two belonged to the Scheduled Tribes, and in this year we took one, though his rank was far below the lowest rank of the person whom we could normally take. I will give you the figure for the year 1951. The total was 3233 and the number of persons qualified was 199 and we took two, though they ranked 197 and 199. Then you will please note the circumstances where we took 38 persons in I.A.S. and 107 persons in all and two Scheduled Castes candidates who had qualified were at the 108th and 409th rank. Then we went down and we took them. So that will show that we are doing our best so far as the taking in or absorption of the Scheduled Castes members is concerned. Where we find that a particular Harijan or Scheduled Caste candidate has not qualified for the IAS we have taken him in the Central Service, so that so far as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned, they are provided for where they satisfy the minimum requirements—not the maximum. Now, during the last five years there is not a single instance where a Harijan candidate has qualified according to the minimum qualifications and we have excluded him.

A very dangerous proposition was laid down by a friend in his enthusiasm that there should be a certain percentage of Scheduled Castes members so far as the High Court Judges and other judges were concerned. That is a matter on which it is not necessary for me to say anything more, because there are certain very high considerations and therefore.....

Shri Dhusiya (Basti Distt.—Central East *cum* Gorakhpur Distt.—West—Reserved—Sch. Castes): On a point of information, Sir. May I know whether the Scheduled Castes candidates who failed, as the hon. Minister just now said, failed in *viva voce* or in written examination?

Shri Datar: No, they had failed in the written examination. I am speaking subject to correction. So far as the *viva voce* examination is concerned, we have established a convention according to which less strict rules are laid down so far as Harijan candidates are concerned. Therefore, the House will agree with me that especially so far as the IAS and IPS and other Central Services are concerned, we have gone out of the way and if we are satisfied that the minimum marks are obtained for qualifying for the post, then he is taken in, wherever he is, even though the number of posts is small, 38 or 40, and even if the particular candidate is the 400th or 500th. So that will show that we are making very honest and generous attempts so far as the Harijans are concerned.

So far as the other communities are concerned.....

Shri Nanadas: *rose*—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister does not give in. He has got very little time. Enough has been answered.

Shri Datar: So far as the lower rungs of the services are concerned, it should be accepted that already there are a number of persons. So far as

this Government is concerned, one can hold this Government liable and responsible either from 1946 or after 1950. But all along attempts are made to have them as far as possible, taking into account the minimum qualifications.

Then in addition, we have laid down a number of other concessions. So far as appearance at the examination is concerned, we give them a concession of fees. They are asked to pay only 1/4th fees. Secondly, so far as age restrictions are concerned, we have lowered them in the case of Harijans. Even if they are educationally not qualified, if they have put in a number of years of service then that is taken into account and they are either promoted or confirmed. Thus, even though the figures might appear to be rather strange, that has to be only attributed to the difficulties of the present situation, and the Government are alive to the necessity of raising the proportion of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the services as early as possible.

6 P.M.

In some cases, I may also point out to the House, that we have laid down a rule that from now onwards a member of no other community should be appointed except one belonging to the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes until the proportion of 12½ per cent. and five per cent. respectively is reached, so far as these two classes of communities are concerned.

Shri B. S. Murthy: What are those Departments where these instructions of Government are to be in force?

Shri Datar: They are so far as class IV services are concerned and they belong to various Departments, not one Department. I am not dealing here with one particular Department. I am dealing with the services in general.

Dr. M. M. Das: May I know the grades of pay?

Shri Datar: So far as the services are concerned, there are four classes, officers and assistants. Assistants are the lowest class and then we have a very large number of clerks. There are also the menials. So far as these are concerned, the desire is to absorb as many of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as possible.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: In class IV?

Shri Datar: In class III also. Even though the number is small, for which the Government is not to blame, we have people in class II and class III and even in class I and the I.A.S. and the I.P.S. also. Thus it will be obvious that whatever is possible and human is being done so far as the absorption into the services of the Scheduled Castes is concerned.

So far as the backward Classes Commission is concerned, we are advised that it is open to the Backward Classes Commission to deal indirectly with the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes because under article 340, under which such a Commission has to be appointed by the President, the words that are used are 'educationally and socially backward'. Now, almost all the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are socially and educationally backward. Therefore, the report of this Commission will have a great bearing upon the specification of certain other castes as Scheduled Castes and certain other types as Scheduled Tribes, because there was a lot of agitation that the President did not include a number of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the two Orders so far as these communities were concerned.

So far as the general uplift or the economic uplift of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is concerned, the Report of the Scheduled Classes Commission will also be of great help so far as the Government attitude is concerned.

A point was made by a friend that there were untouchables amongst Christians and the Muslims and a concession should be given to them (*An Hon. Member*: Sikhs also) so far as they were concerned. Untouchability it may be found to our great shame, is a peculiar feature of Hinduism. The Sikhs have not any castes at all, much less can they have any untouchability; so far as Muslims and Christians are concerned, happily they have no untouchables at all. The whole framework of the scheme by which certain special concessions were given to Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is based on the footing that the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes were members of the Hindu community and, therefore, so long as they are Hindus, so long as they have not gone over to any other religion, they are entitled to have these concessions. The moment they go out, they are not entitled to these concessions at all. Therefore, we are sorry, it is not open to us to extend these concessions to so-called untouchables amongst non-Hindus. They can be treated as backward.

[Shri Datar]

I have dealt with all the points. Lastly, I assure the House that it is the desire of this Government to do all that is humanly possible in the course of the next ten years to eradicate all the disabilities from which the Harijans are suffering and I only request the House to give us all the co-operation that we need so far as this problem is concerned.

Dr. M. M. Das: On a point of information, Sir.

Mr Deputy-Speaker: Enough has been asked; I am sorry. Now, out of the amendments that have been moved I will first put the amendment of Sardar Amar Singh Saigal, and that of Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava. Then I will come to the other amendments. I shall put first Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava's amendment to the amendment of Sardar Amar Singh Saigal.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Sir, the mover of the amendment has accepted my amendment.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then I will put both the amendments together to the House.

The question is:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

"and having considered the same, this House appreciates the efforts made by the Government in ameliorating the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and desires that these efforts be intensified so as to ensure that within a period of ten years from the inauguration of the Constitution all the disabilities from which the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes suffer be totally removed and these Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the backward classes rise up to the standard of and are integrated with all other classes in the country."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I find that all other amendments are covered by these amendments the amendments that we have carried. They are only instances as to how this amelioration has to take place. Therefore, it is unnecessary to put these amendments at all.

The House then adjourned till Ten of the Clock on Monday, the 15th December, 1952.